Volume 23, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1934

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1934

Friends' Historical Association held its annual meeting at the Friends Institute, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, Eleventh month 26, 1934. Charles Francis Jenkins, President of the Association, presided at the business meeting. The annual reports of the President and Treasurer were given, and Directors of the Association were elected for the ensuing year as shown on the opposite page, William Wistar Comfort being elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Rayner W. Kelsey.

The meeting felt keenly the loss of Rayner W. Kelsey, and adopted the following minute:

Rayner W. Kelsey

Rayner W. Kelsey died at his home in Haverford, Pennsylvania, on Tenth month 29, 1934.

Thus passed from the activities of earthly life one of the most devoted and useful members of Friends' Historical Association. He served the Association as President, 1913-1915; as Vice-President, 1928-1931; as Editor of the Bulletin, 1922-1932; and as a member of the Board of Directors, 1923-1934.

Rayner W. Kelsey was a trained historian, and he applied the scientific methods of research and judgment to historical problems. He realized more fully than most the inestimable value of the collections of source material in the custody of the Society of Friends. His work in arranging and indexing the valuable collections at Haverford College has put present and future generations under distinct obligation to him. The type of custodial care that he organized secured for the Haverford Collections some of its most valuable items.

For all these reasons, but very specially also for his genial good-fellowship and enthusiasm in his associations with us, we record our profound sorrow at his early death. We assure his widow and their son

of our heartfelt sympathy, and we appeal to the membership of Friends' Historical Association to emulate his noble example in devotion to worthy causes.

The address of the evening was delivered by Horace Mather Lippincott, who read a very interesting paper entitled *Some Old Quaker Houses in the Philadelphia Neighborhood.* The paper was made the more interesting by a set of beautiful photographs of the exteriors and interiors of many of the houses discussed, taken by Philip G. Wallace and mounted for the occasion by Walter F. Price.

After the presentation of the literary program, the meeting adjourned to enjoy a refreshing collation, which was served in the tearoom on the second floor.

ENOCH FLOWER

By George Wheeler

The first Frame of Government for Pennsylvania signed in England by William Penn on the "five and twentieth day of the second month, vulgarly called April, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-two," provided in the

Editor's Note.—The writer of this article was for many years (1909-29) Associate Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia, and in that capacity often heard of the first schoolmaster in Penn's colony. It was largely through his efforts that the Schoolmen's Club of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Historical Commission were stirred to interest in the 250th anniversary of the death of Enoch Flower, and erected a tablet, a picture of which accompanies this article, at 234 South Front Street, Philadelphia, the site of Enoch Flower's school. (See *Pennsylvania School Journal,* 82:194, for Jan., 1934; 82:290, for Feb., 1934.) By research among the original records of early colonial times he ascertained that Enoch Flower owned the twelfth lot south from Walnut Street, on Front (which later, following various consolidations, became the ninth), and by adding the frontages of the eight lots between Flower's and the corner (which measured 102, 20, 20, 20, 42, 20, 30, and 20 feet respectively), and measuring off the sum along Front Street, he ascertained which modern building is erected on the ancient site of Flower's house, and hence where the tablet should be placed.

Enoch Flower has been only very briefly referred to by those who have hitherto written of Pennsylvania or its school system. The general histories mention him, if at all, as the first schoolmaster, and say no more. Thus Isaac Sharpless, in R. M. Jones's *Quakers in the American*

Twelfth Section "That the Governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all publick schools." The same provision

Colonies, says only (page 527): "Within a year after Penn's landing, Enoch Flower was commissioned to open a school for elementary work"; and the index to Isaac Sharpless's *A Quaker Experiment in Government* has only one reference to Enoch Flower, the passage referred to conveying approximately the same information as that quoted above. Thomas's *History of the Friends in America* does not mention Enoch Flower at all. M. D. Learned, in his *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius,* prints in full the resolution of the Provincial Council of 1683 appointing Enoch Flower, and refers briefly to his "Pay School." (Pastorius was engaged in 1697 to teach in a monthly-meeting school, in which the instruction should be free, though the curriculum was approximately that of Flower's earlier school.) The writers on education are no better. Thomas Woody, in *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (pages 42, 43, 45), refers in a few words only to Enoch Flower, adding a guess (which the present article shows to have been erroneous) that he remained at his post as teacher for several years. J. Mulhern, in *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania* (pages 28, 99, 128), gives only the familiar fact. J. P. Wickersham's *History of Education in Pennsylvania* contributes the information (page 41) that Enoch Flower "is said to have come from Corsham, Wiltshire, England," and that his school was in his dwelling, made of pine and cedar planks; but he gives no reference to sources. This expression "pine and cedar planks" occurs in various of the secondary accounts of Flower. Biographical and encyclopedic works also fail us. The new *Dictionary of American Biography,* which has been published as far as P, does not mention Flower, nor does the older *National Cyclopedia of American Biography,* nor Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography.* Flower was not sufficiently distinguished in England to be included in the British *Dictionary of National Biography,* nor does he appear in the index of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Even Howard M. Jenkins in *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal,* gives only the single familiar fact.

Thus the ordinary layman desiring to know something about Enoch Flower discovers that the standard sources of information fail him completely, for the various and scattered records of Flower's life have never been brought together and been made available. It is a great satisfaction that George Wheeler has done this for the records that exist in this country. It is to be hoped that he himself, or someone under whose eye this article may fall, will do the same kind of research work among the records of England, and thus round out a complete picture of Enoch Flower's life. Readers of this article, in England or America, who happen to have additional information are invited to send it to the Editor, who will be glad to print addenda in a later number of the BULLETIN.

appears in the Tenth Section of the Second "Frame," signed in Philadelphia, and read to the Provincial Council, April 2, 1683.

The Proprietor was a very busy man during his first visit to America. The whole machinery of government for his Province had to be erected and put in motion as quickly as possible. The first meeting of the Council was held Saturday, March 10, 1683, and sessions were held daily except Sunday to April 4, inclusive. After that time meetings occurred at longer intervals. At the fiftieth session, Wednesday, December 26, 1683, William Penn presiding, and four members being present, Tho. Holmes, Wm. Clayton, Wm. Haigue, and Lasse Cock, the Council took measures to establish the first school under the provisions of the Frame of Government. The minute reads as follows:

The Govr and Provll Councill having taken into their Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is of a Scool Master for ye Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enock flower, an Inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty Year past hath been exercised in that care and Imploymt in England, to whom haveing Comunicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Termes: to Learne to read English 4 *s* by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write 6 *s* by ye Quarter, to learne to read, Write and Cast accot 8 *s* by ye Quarter; for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging, & Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year.

This was the initial governmental provision for education in Pennsylvania. Whatever opportunity for schooling existed before this time was a matter of arrangement between teacher and patron. There is some reason to believe that Christopher Taylor had a school on Tinicum Island before the arrival of William Penn in America. He was a scholarly man and is known to have conducted a school in England. He came to New England on a religious visit in 1675, and was among the first English settlers on the west bank of the Delaware. He served on the Provincial Council from its organization to his death in 1686.

The records of Upland Court give definite information of schooling provided when Governor Andross, of New York, was in charge of this region, before Penn obtained title to Pennsylvania:

March ye 12th $167\frac{8}{9}$
Edmund Draufton Plt
Dunck Williams Deft
The Plt demands of this Deft 200 gilders for teaching this defts childeren to Read one Yeare.

The Cort haveing heard the debates of both Partees as alsoe ye attestation of ye witnesses, Doe grant Judgemt agst ye deft for 200 gilders wth ye Costs; Richard Ducket sworne in Court declares that hee was prsent at ye makeing of ye bargaine, & did hear that ye agreemt was that Edmund draufton should Teach Dunkes Childeren to Read in ye bybell & if hee could doe itt in a yeare or a halfe yeare or a quartr then hee was to have 200 gilders.

Possibly this controversy had something to do with the very specific agreement as to rates between the Council and the first official schoolmaster.

Enoch Flower was born in Wiltshire, England. His father, "Thomas the barber," married Susana Harpwood on October 1, 1617. Enoch was baptized in Melksham parish October 12, 1635. He had a younger brother Seth, whose son Henry came to Pennsylvania with his uncle Enoch. The time of their arrival in America may be approximately determined from the fact that the certificate which Enoch Flower presented to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting from the Brinkworth Meeting in Wiltshire was dated March 21, 1683. His father died before Enoch left his home in Corsham for Pennsylvania, his will being probated April 30, 1677. The inventory of his estate was filed by his widow, Susana, September 3, 1678.

Before William Penn left England, he had sold more than half a million acres to about 400 persons, frequently referred to in the records as "first purchasers." Among them was Enoch Flower, who bought 2000 acres. The three original counties were Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester. Enoch Flower's tracts were situated in the latter two counties. In Bucks County there were 500 acres at Feasterville, 250 acres at Perkasie, and 250 acres on Easton Road, a short distance above Doylestown. In Chester County there were four tracts of 250 acres each, two of which were near Downingtown and two near Marcus Hook [now in Delaware County]. One of the latter later belonged to a kinsman, William Flower, probably the son of Enoch's elder brother, William.

His purchase of 2000 acres entitled him to 40 acres in the "Liberties," which included a large area mainly situated between the Delaware and the Schuylkill above Vine Street. Thirty-two acres of his "liberty land" were located near the intersection of Broad Street, Erie Avenue, and Germantown

Avenue. The trail through the forest which later became Germantown Avenue passed through the middle of this tract. On March 7, 1684, Pastorius wrote in a letter from Philadelphia, "The way from here to Germantown they [the Germans] have now by frequent going to and fro, trodden out in good shape."

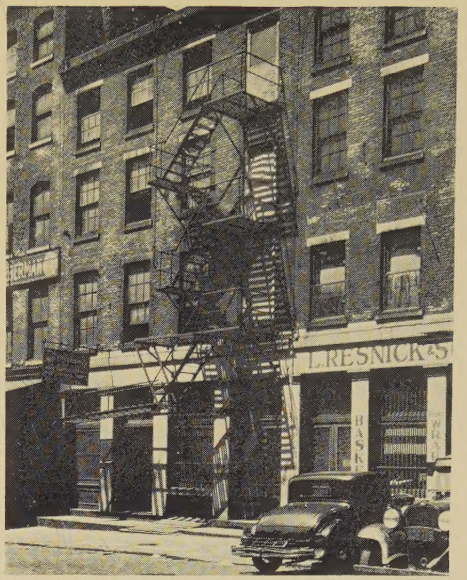
Purchasers of land in the country districts were also entitled to city lots. Buyers of less than 1000 acres were given lots on the "Schuylkill front." Those who bought 1000 acres or more received "Delaware front" lots. These parcels of ground were numbered and the distribution was made by lot. Enoch Flower drew No. 12 and No. 62. The latter was on the south side of High Street (now Market), between Fifth and Sixth, and was destined to become historic. Here Mary Masters built a fine dwelling which she gave to her daughter Mary when the latter was married to Richard Penn. When Howe captured Philadelphia in 1777, he made this mansion his headquarters. It became the residence of Benedict Arnold after the British evacuation. The house was damaged by fire in 1780. Robert Morris bought the property and rebuilt the house, which became the Executive Mansion when Philadelphia was the capital of the United States, being occupied by George Washington and John Adams.

Lot No. 12 was on the west side of Front Street below Walnut Street, near the Blue Anchor Inn, and extended across Dock Creek to Second Street. Here Flower built his home, which must have been made of logs or sawn timber, for it was not until after the schoolmaster's death that Robert Turner built the first brick house in Philadelphia. In this frame house he presumably conducted his school.

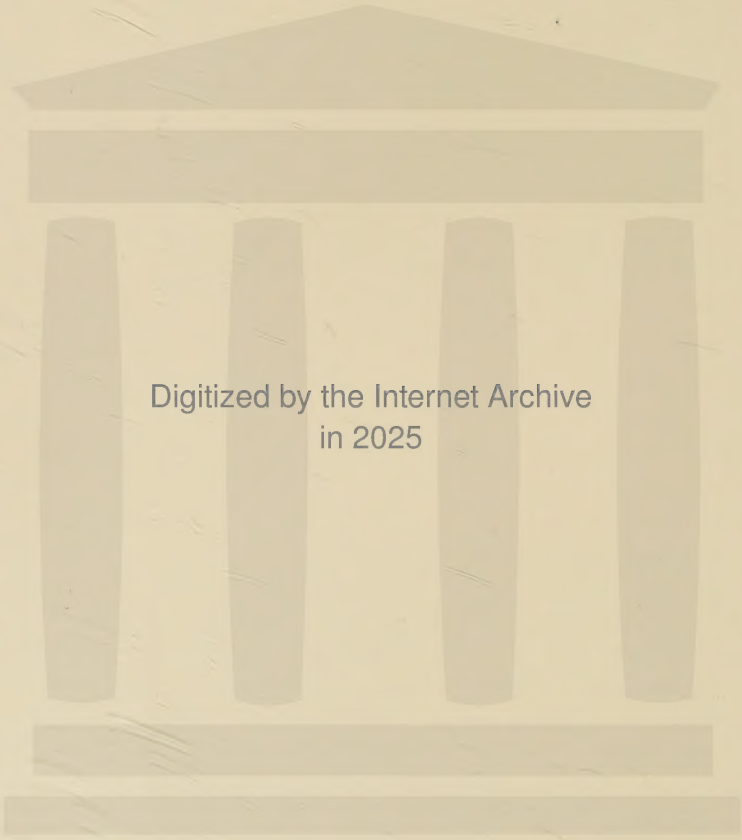
Enoch Flower was a man of importance in the new city. He served on the first grand jury, which met October 25, 1683, to consider the charge that Charles Pickering was guilty of issuing false money. A true bill was found and Pickering was tried and convicted. A creek which flows into the Schuylkill below Phoenixville bears his name.

Flower was also on the second grand jury, which had under its scrutiny the charge of witchcraft brought against Margaret Mattson, and which "found the bill." The case went at once to the petty jury. "The jury went forth, and upon their Returne

Tablet on Site of
Enoch Flower Home



Present Building on Site of
Enoch Flower Home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Brought her in Guilty of haveing the Comon fame of a witch but not guilty in manner and form as Shee stands Indicted."

At the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, August 5, 1684, William Penn "being present and his departure for England drawing nigh, he moved the secretary to give him a Certificate, as touching his demeanour amongst the people of his Province. . . . A certificate was drawn up in the meeting according to the motion of the Governour" and signed by thirteen of the leading men of the province in the name of the meeting. Among them were Thomas Lloyd, President of the Provincial Council after Penn's departure; James Claypool, member of the Commission on Property; John Songhurst, speaker of the Assembly in 1683; William Clayton, successor to Thomas Lloyd as President of the Council; and James Harrison, appointed by Penn as guardian of his son Springett. The seventh signer of the certificate was Enoch Flower.

Twelve days later Penn sailed for England. Four days after Penn's departure, Enoch Flower, being desperately ill, made his will. His trembling signature indicated the feebleness of his condition. On September 2 he added a memorandum to his will. His death must have followed shortly afterward, for his will was probated September 25 in the office of Christopher Taylor, Register General. Samuel Hersent, High Sheriff of Philadelphia County, witnessed the will and the codicil, and made the inventory of the estate. Enoch's brother Seth and his nephew Henry, Seth's son, were named as executors. The will gave ten pounds each to Seth's son, John, to his "dear Mother Susana Flower," and to Margery Dobby "if she come from old England to Pensilvania." The remainder of the estate went to the widow, Mary.

The inventory shows that he still owned the 500 acres at Feasterville, the forty acres of "liberty land," and the two city lots. The total appraisal was £184/14/–. The "City ffront Lott & house" were valued at £60, the High Street lot at £8, and the Bucks County land at £20. That his home was not merely a one-story cabin is indicated by mention of articles above stairs as well as below stairs. A valuation of £30 on his wearing apparel indicates that he was a well-dressed man. His books

were appraised at £6; a pair of globes, £1; "a table scale, Gauging Rod, and other Mathematical Instruments, £1."

Seth Flower "being resident in England, renounced and left the whole to his Son, Henry Flower." By a deed dated February 5, 1701, the executor "conveyed to Joseph Kirl the Easternmost part" of the 30-foot lot on Front Street "granted to Enoch Flower in Right of his first Purchase," on which the schoolmaster had his residence. On February 10, 1689, Thomas Harding bought 150 acres of the Feasterville tract for £8, and on April 25, 1698, the remainder of the tract for £29.

Henry Flower became a prominent citizen of Philadelphia. His son Enoch was a close friend of Benjamin Franklin and a member of the famous "Junto." Seth Flower probably never came to America. A pathetic letter written by him from London in October, 1693, and addressed "ffor Henry fflower living [neare] the blue anker at the landing place in the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pensilvania in America" tells of his poverty. "I think it a good weeks work now if I get 2 *s* a week sometimes & not 1 *s* but thanks be to God that it has been better formerly. . . . Let us hear from you as often as opport'y serves. If you send by any one that can not immediately bring it, give them a penny to deliver it to the penny post & if it be 3 or 4 or half a dozen inclosed, it will come safely & still cost me but a penny." A postscript closes with "wm Pen is not far from London—much spoken of—I wish he were well settled with you."

The official records make no mention of any attempt on the part of the Council to organize another elementary school after the death of Enoch Flower. Less than a month after Flower's appointment, the Council, William Penn presiding, proposed "that care be taken about the Learning and Instruction of Youth, to Witt: a Scool of Arts and Siences," but after Penn's return to England the matter languished, and this more advanced type of school was not organized until 1689, when a form of public school was set up under the care of George Keith. The stress on governmental responsibility for education which is evident in the Frames of Government and other legislative enactments appears to have been largely due to Penn's personal

interest in the matter. In this, as in a number of other respects, he was a man far in advance of his time.

Enoch Flower's career as a schoolmaster in Pennsylvania was very brief but of high significance, being the first attempt of the Commonwealth to assume responsibility for the education of its children. To mark the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of this event, the Schoolmen's Club of Philadelphia in coöperation with the Pennsylvania Historical Commission a year ago placed a bronze tablet on the building at 234 South Front Street which stands on the lot where Enoch Flower had his home and where he probably conducted his school. To the far-seeing Founder of Pennsylvania, the first "Scool Master" and his "Schollers" were laying the foundation for the future well-being of the Province. In his own words, "That, therefore, which makes a good constitution must keep it, viz. men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth."

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WILLIAM PENN: A RADIO ADDRESS[1]

By Albert Cook Myers

Today, this twenty-fourth of October, by the Gregorian or New Style calendar, is the 290th birthday of William Penn, the illustrious Founder of Pennsylvania and the foremost Founder of the American nation. The eminent English historian, Lord Acton, called him "The greatest historic figure of his age," and Tennyson wrote that he was "no comet of a season, but the fixed light of a dark and graceless age shining on into the present."

Under mandate of the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Governor has issued a proclamation calling upon the people for the observance of an event of such deep import; for each one of us, man, woman, and child of whatsoever race or creed, is indebted to William Penn for the privileges and opportunities we enjoy.

Born in the year 1644, under the shadow of the old Tower of London, Penn was the son, by a Dutch mother, of a young English naval captain, later the noted Admiral Sir William Penn, Knight.

As Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, the great Quaker devoted the best part of his life, a period of over thirty years, to the development of his Province, in its formative period, coming here from England on two personal visits of two years each, 1682-1684 and 1699-1701.

During these two sojourns in Pennsylvania, Penn made his country home upon a tract of over 8000 acres, which he called the Manor of Pennsbury, located in the present Falls Township, Bucks County, near Tullytown, beyond Bristol, and some 25 miles up the Delaware River from his capital city of Philadelphia. There, while on his first American visit, now two centuries and fifty years ago, he erected, along with various outbuildings, a two-story brick mansion known as Pennsbury House. Here he, and his sons after him, entertained and conferred with the Indians. He wrote that he liked Pennsbury better than any other place in which he had lived.

[1] Delivered on his birthday, Wednesday, October 24, 1934, at 4:07 P. M.

This structure, which was 62 feet in length, stood on a gentle rise of ground, facing the river, about 70 yards from the shore. The house fell into ruin just before the American Revolution.

In 1932, as part of the Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of Penn's first American arrival, over eight acres of the Pennsbury Manor tract, including the site of Penn's ancient buildings, was donated to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by the Warner Company. A special act of the Legislature placed the property in the control of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission of the State. The Commission acts through a special Pennsbury Committee of three of its members: James N. Rule, Chairman of the Commission and State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Albert Cook Myers, Secretary of the Commission; and Charles Henry Moon, Chairman of the Committee.

A good road to the place has been built recently by the State and national governments, and the property itself has been much improved.

Under the direction of the Commission's experienced archæologist, Donald A. Cadzow, the work of excavating the Pennsbury site has been in progress for nearly two years, with a most remarkable yield of results. The stone and brick cellar walls of the house have been carefully dug out, and amongst many interesting objects found, and now being classified, are pieces of hardware, such as hinges, locks, keys, nails, and bolts; fragments of leaden casement windows containing bits of glass; seven-inch hearth bricks, five-inch glazed green and yellow tiles of the fireplaces, etc. The foundations of the brew house and other outbuildings, and an eighty-foot brick garden wall, also have been unearthed.

The Pennsbury Committee, with the coöperation and much-needed private support of a group of the Friends of Pennsbury, headed by a Committee of The Welcome Society, of which Henry Paul Busch is President, proposes to prepare plans, which, while providing effective preservation for the historic ruins uncovered, look to a full, critical, historical reconstruction of William Penn's Colonial Plantation of Pennsbury, the buildings, gardens, orchards, fields, etc.

The necessary information, archæological, historical, and archi-

tectural, to this end, has been gathered, collated and excerpted. This task has been committed to your present speaker, who not only has examined what has been dug up at Pennsbury, and inspected certain old buildings of near the same period, but has had recourse to many collections, historical and architectural, both here and in England, including his own Penn materials.

Your speaker not only has obtained several views of the brew house, but also has discovered a crude contemporary manuscript drawing, or view, of the front of Pennsbury House, which is of prime importance to the objective; he has also found other particulars, respecting the house, largely in the handwriting of William Penn himself, as to the chimneys, the wainscoting, the brickwork, the heights of the ceilings, and the sizes of the doors, windows, and stairs; he has inventories of the contents of the house by rooms, also of the other buildings, and references to the gardens, courtyards, hedges, gates, fences, steps, paths, orchards, fruits, flowers, livestock, the well, etc. So that it is with considerable confidence that we approach the problems of an authentic reconstruction of the Pennsbury Plantation.

The consummation of our plans would be a worthy and impressive memorial to our great Founder. It should be made possible with the help of as many of our citizens and groups of citizens as possible, but especially should it receive the support of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which owes a great unrequited debt to its Founder.

Your speaker would appreciate information as to papers of William Penn, especially his letters, as well as to data bearing on Pennsbury. Address: Albert Cook Myers, Building of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

In conclusion: Notwithstanding the fact that the best authorities of both the Old and the New Worlds accord Penn a foremost rank in our country's history, so far, strange as it may seem, he has failed of election to the Hall of Fame of New York University. Over 100 electors, largely educationalists, representing each of the States, vote every five years. The next election takes place early in 1935. Let each one of us do what we can to remedy this oversight.

ANTHONY BENEZET'S LIBRARY

By Henry J. Cadbury

Some of us when we step into the houses of our friends irresistibly are drawn to look at the books in their library. Such a practice sometimes gives us a sidelight on unsuspected traits of their characters. Equally interesting is any information about the books owned by famous persons of the past. Something is known about the libraries of several early Friends either by lists or by the actual books which are extant. A list of books owned by George Fox has recently been published.[1] There is extant but unpublished a shorter list of learned books once owned by Richard Richardson, his learned contemporary. In both instances some of the actual books remain at Friends House, London. The library of Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam, remarkable for its size and the scope of languages and subjects which it covered, was listed in a printed volume used for its sale in 1714.[2] F. D. Pastorius left an inventory of books which he owned, that has now been printed.[3] In Philadelphia the Loganian Library goes back to a nucleus of more than 2000 volumes intended to be left to the public by James Logan. After his death in 1751 his heirs carried out his intention and caused a catalog to be printed. The names of several books owned by John Woolman are known to us through his own memoranda of borrowings and returnings.[4] A large group of books owned formerly by John G. Whittier are now in Swarthmore College Library. A handful of the books of Thomas Chalkley with his bookplate, part of his bequest in 1741 of 111 books with which he founded the Library of Friends in Philadelphia, are now in the possession of the Haverford College Library.

The present year is a suitable opportunity for publishing a list of books once owned by Anthony Benezet and given to the

[1] *Journal of Friends Historical Society,* XXVIII, 1931, p. 3 ff.; cf. XXIX, 63 ff.; XXX, 9 ff.

[2] *Bibliotheca Furliana,* Rotterdam, 1714.

[3] *The Life of F. D. Pastorius,* by M. D. Learned, Phila., 1908. pp. 276-284.

[4] Account Book, now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; see A. M. Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman,* N. Y., 1922, p. 631 f.

Library of Friends in Philadelphia at his death in 1784. The first printed catalog of that library, published shortly after, but without date, marks these gifts with an asterisk, and a MS. continuation of the same catalog in my possession adds several more (especially collections of tracts) with like marks. Several of these books marked with a special bookplate were still in Friends Library at its dissolution in 1929[5] and passed over into the possession of Haverford College Library. Some have Anthony Benezet's signature as well. They are marked in the list below with an asterisk.

One thinks of Benezet more as of a publisher than as of a collector of books. Especially the collections of tracts are the result of his industry. He was particularly noted in his time as one who gave books away.[6] He had been the first Librarian of the Friends Library in Philadelphia and naturally he made it a beneficiary of his will.

The range of books is probably not representative of Benezet's own reading. French works are not very conspicuous in the list. On the other hand, the books on medicine show that Benezet, like many other early Friends in America, had a lay interest in this subject.

The list is, however, of principal interest to the bibliographer. Probably few of the books are well known rarities, but especially among the bound tracts are to be found many Colonial American items. Hildeburn in compiling his *Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania* evidently made considerable use of these volumes.

FOLIO[7]

18. History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the People called Quakers, by William Sewell.

[5] Unfortunately some of the library had been thrown away or given away before the preservation of Benezet's books was suggested. Another book owned by Benezet is a MS. Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Haverford College has Joyce Benezet's Bible with family genealogy in it and the name of her mother and grandfather. Anthony Benezet apparently left some of his books to the colored school in which he had taught. (*A Brief Sketch of the Schools for Black People and their Descendants Established by the Religious Society of Friends in 1770*, Phila., 1867, p. 21.)

[6] Comly, *Miscellany*, V:363.

[7] In the following list the somewhat irregular method of listing follows exactly the printed catalog of the eighteenth century. The original

QUARTO

20. Epistles from the Meeting for Sufferings and other Meetings, (Collection of).
**22. Gospel Treasures, by John Everard, 2 vols.[8] [Germantown, 1757. E. 7889]
*39. Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in Ireland by Thomas Wight, of Cork. [Dublin, 1751]

OCTAVO

*11. Bromley Thomas (Sabbath of Rest, by). [Germantown, 1759. E. 8309] 2 Setts.
[Hartley Thomas (A Discourse on Mistakes, etc., by). Germantown, 1759. E. 8364]
†[Observations on Inslaving, importing etc. Negroes. Germantown, 1760. E. 8542]
[Cudworth Ralph (Discourse . . . of our knowing Christ). New York, 1770. E. 11618]
17. Buchan's Family Physician.[9]
18. Bradley Richard on Gardening.
19. Bulkley's Voyage to the South Seas.
20. Blair Robert (The Grave, a Poem by). 2. Setts.
21. Bennett John (Divine Revelation impartial and universal, by).
30. Christianity, the Doctrine of, vindicated.

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catalog classes and numbers as given in the printed list are retained. But an asterisk [*] now indicates that the actual item which was formerly Benezet's is extant at Haverford College. Two asterisks mean two copies extant. For these extant works I have been able to add in square brackets or in notes some further bibliographical information. In the case of American publications I have usually been content with citing Charles Evans, *American Bibliography 1639-1820,* Chicago, 1903- , giving the serial number and the abbreviation E. In some cases where Evans does not list the item I have referred by the use of H. and a serial number to C. R. Hildeburn, *Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania 1685-1784,* Phila., 1885-6. For Quaker books, S. indicates Joseph Smith's *Catalogue* and is followed by volume and page number. Fuller information about the titles and dates of the lost pieces can sometimes be had by consulting the later printed catalogs of Friends Library (1813, 1831, etc.) An obelisk [†] indicates each extant piece the authorship or publication of which may be assigned to Anthony Benezet himself. I have not tried to indicate Benezet's authorship in the case of books no longer extant. Many items occur more than once in the collection.

[8] These copies containing identical MS. references to special passages were evidently intended by Benezet to be loaned to his friends. In writing to Sarah Barney of Newport, R. I., in 1756, Anthony Benezet refers to this reprint as follows: "Our German Printer [i. e., Christopher Sower] proposes to reprint the works of John Everard. It was written before Friends were a people, by a preacher of those times. Some of the weightiest among Friends have expressed their great appreciation of it. I think I have scarce met with any book from which I have derived more solid edification. It is to be printed in a pretty large character, that so aged people may read it with ease." Comly, *Miscellany,* III:103.

[9] In his *Remarks on the Nature and Bad Effects of Spirituous Liquors,* p. 7 f., Benezet quotes "Doctor Buchan in his Domestic Medicine or Family Physician, a book which has gained so much esteem as to be twice published in this city."

*31. Cheyne George, (natural Method of curing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind depending on the Body.) [Fifth Ed. London, 1753]
32. Churchman John, Journal of.
33. Crantz, David, (History of Greenland, by).
34. Chambaud's French Grammar.
38. Diseases (a short Account of the most common incident to Armies, with the Method of Cure.
39. Dispensatory (a new English Universal, by R. James).
40. Dodd's Thoughts in Prison.
*44. Exhortation to Repent or Sorrow for Sin. [by St. Ephraim, London, 1731]
[Memoirs of Daniel Roberts. Third Ed., Phila., 1752. E. 6926]
[Life of Nicholas Mooney. Phila., 1752. E. 6886]
45. Extracts from the Spirit of Prayer, 3 Setts.
*46. Epistle of Love and Caution, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, or elsewhere, by David Hall. [Third Ed. London, 1750]
[Milton John (Considerations . . . Hirelings). Third Ed., London, 1743]
[Drummond May (Internal Revelation). London, 1736. S. i. 544]
[Brown James (An Epistle of Love and Caution). London, 1751. S. i. 326]
47. English Tongue (a short Treatise on).
55. Febrifugum Magnum, or the grand Febrifuge improved.
*60. Groenvelt John, the Rudiments of Physic, by. [Sherborne, 1754]
61. Guion Lady, the Life of, written by herself, 2 Vols.[10]
62. Godwyn Morgan, The Negro's and Indian's Advocate, by.[11]
71. Health and long Life (an Essay of) by George Cheyne.[12]
**72. Hartley Thomas (God's Controversy with the Nations by). 2. Setts. [London, 1756] [13]
*73. Health (the Family Companion, for) by a Member of the College of Physicians. [London, 1730]
74. Hall David (some brief Memoirs of the Life of).

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[10] A MS. note says "Burnt at a Fire."

[11] This work, published in 1680, is one of the few in the list which Benezet definitely quotes in his own writings. See his *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, 1772, pp. 74-84.

[12] In his *Remarks on the Nature and Bad Effects of Spirituous Liquors*, p. 2, Benezet quotes "Doctor Cheyne in his Essay of health and long life." The imprint was London, 1745.

[13] With this English imprint different American pamphlets are bound in the two extant volumes. One includes the following:

†Law, William. Extract from a Treatise. Phila., 1760. E. 8633.
Dell, William. Trial of Spirits. Phila., 1760. E. 8578.
Rutty, John. Liberty of the Flesh. Phila., 1759. E. 8486.
†Benezet, Anthony. Observations on Inslaving . . . Negroes. Germantown, 1760. E. 8542.

The other includes:

Hartley, Thomas. Discourse on Mistakes. Germantown, 1759. E. 8364.
†Law, William. Extract from a Treatise. Phila., 1760. E. 8633.
Hayes, Alice. A Legacy, or Widow's Mite. London, 1749. S. i.: 927 f.
Jacob, Elizabeth. An Epistle in true love. J. Draper, Boston, 1757.

The last item is listed neither in Evans nor (in this edition) in Smith.

76. Important Truths of Spiritual and Practicable Christianity.
*77. †Jenyns Soame, a View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion, by. [Phila., 1780. E. 16812]
†[Notes on the Slave Trade. E. 17095]
†[Extract from an Address in the Virginia Gazette. E. 10555]
†[Plain Path to Christian Perfection. Phila., 1780. E. 17953]
†[Armelle Nicolas. H. 3995]
†[A Short Account of . . . Quakers. Second Ed. Phila., n. d. E. 16712]
*80. A Kempis Thomas (Christian Pattern, by). [12th Ed. Dublin, 1751]
88. Lind James (Essay on Diseases incidental to Europeans in hot Climates, by).
89. Law William (Spirit of Love, by).
*90. Ditto (An humble, earnest and affectionate Address to the Clergy, by). [London, 1761]
[Law, William. Of Justification by Faith and Works. London, 1760]
[Husband, Herman. Some Remarks on Religion. Phila., 1761. E. 8885]
*91. Ditto (A Collection of Letters on the most interesting and important Subjects, by). [London, 1760]
[Law, William. A Short but Sufficient Confutation. London, 1757]
*92. Ditto (An Appeal to all who doubt or disbelieve the Truths of the Gospel, by).
*93. Ditto (The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Regeneration.
[Law, William. The Spirit of Prayer. Fourth Ed. London, 1763]
[Law, William. A Series of Letters. London, 1760]
[How, Samuel. Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching. Wilmington, 1763. E. 9410]
[(Husband, Herman). Some Remarks on Religion. Phila., 1761. E. 8885]
94. A Letter to Doctor Formy.
97. Marten John (Treatise on the Use of Cantharides in the Practice of Physick, by).
98. Night Thoughts, on Death, Life and Immortality. A new Edition.
111. Physical Dictionary.
112. Piety Promoted, or dying Sayings, by Thomas Wagstaffe.
113. Pharmarcopæa Extemporanea, or a Body of Medicines.
114. Physic, (The London Practice of).
*115. Primitive Physick, or an easy and natural Method of curing most Diseases. [Bristol, Second Ed., n. d.]
*116. Phipps Joseph (Original and Present State of Man, briefly considered, by). 2 Setts. [Phila., 1783. E. 18139]
†[Jenyns, Soame. A View of the Internal Evidence. Phila., 1780. E. 16812]
[B(rooke), M(ary). Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting. Phila., 1780. E. 16724]
†[Benezet, Anthony. A Short Account of . . . Quakers. Phila., 1780. E. 16711]
[Dell, William. The Doctrine of Baptisms. Phila., 1759. E. 8338]
117. Payne's Thomas a Kempis.
118. Pope's Essay on Man.
119. Poems (a Collection of).
120. Plain Truth, or Serious Considerations on the Present State of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania.

125. Robinson Nicholas (a Complete Treatise of the Gravel and Stone, by).
126. Ranters and other Libertines (the Anarchy of) by Robert Barclay.
127. Recket William (Life and Gospel Labors of).
*128. Remarks on the Opinions of some of the most celebrated Writers on Crown Law, respecting the Distinction between Manslaughter and Murder. 2 Setts. [by Granville Sharp, London, 1773]
129. Remarks concerning the Encroachments on the River Thames, near Durham Yard.
*132. Stanton Daniel (Journal of Life Travels &c. of) [Phila., 1772. E. 12565] 2 Setts.
135. Salmons William (his Practice of Physic.)
136. Surveying—Geodæsia, or the Art of Surveying, by John Love.
137. Spectator, 1st Vol.
*138. Sharp's Works, 10 Vols.[14]
139. Somerset James, a Negro (an Argument in the Case of) lately determined in the Court of King's Bench, by Mr. Hargrave.
*153. The new Testament. [London, 1739, with MS. notes]
154. Tenent Gilbert (Sermons by).
*155. Tissot on Health. [London, 1765]
156. Tectonicon, by Leonard Diggs.
*157. Trapp Joseph (the Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger, of being righteous over much, by). [6th Ed. London, 1761]
Law, William, An Answer to Dr. Trapp's Discourse. 3rd Ed. London, 1756.
Trapp, Joseph, A Reply to Mr. Law's Answer. London, 1741.
160. Van Swieten's Commentaries abridged.
*165. Woolman, John (the Works in Two Parts). [Phila., 1775. E. 14631]
175. An Exposition of the Matters objected to in England to the People known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum:—with additions. A candid Narrative of the Rise & Progress of the Hern Huters, or Unitas Fratrum.
A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsyl. Maryland & N. Carolina, &c. &c.
An Inquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest.
*176. Sundry Letters, &c. G. Whitefield. [London, 1768]
Sermon preached before the Humane Society;—a Hymn. [by Jacob Duche. London, 1781]
An Oration;—B. Rush.—Appendix. [Phila., n. d., E. 13592]
The Necessity of a Life of Purity in seven Discourses;—Prayers. [by Samuel Fothergill. Phila., 1780. E. 16777]

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[14] Only one of the volumes so cataloged is extant, containing:
†Sharp, Granville. An Essay on Slavery. Burlington, 1773. E. 13005.
(Rush, Benj.?) An Address to the . . . British Settlements. Phila., 1773. E. 12993.
(Nesbit, Richard). Slavery not Forbidden by Scripture. Phila., 1773. E. 12903.
(Rush, Benj.) A vindication of the Address. Phila., 1773. E. 12994.
Personal Slavery Established by . . . Custom, etc. Phila., 1773. E. 12935.
Brief Consideration on Slavery. Burlington, 1773. E. 12701.
†(Benezet, Anthony). A Short Account of that Part of Africa. Second Ed., Phila., 1762. E. 9067.

177. Respecting the Plague in Lon. 1665.
New Theory of acute & Slow Fevers.
Cautions against the use of violent Medicines in Fevers.
The old Man's Guide to Health & longer Life.
A Discourse on the Gout.
Experiments & observations on the mineral Waters of Phila., Abington & Bristol.

178. Repent, & be converted;—a Sermon.
The Doctrines of Baptisms.
Christ the Christian's Life:—Sermon.
A short specimen of Apostolic Preachg;
Concerning Predestination, &c.
A Dialogue.
Short History of a long Travel.
The Trial of Spirits.
The Farmer's Letters.
The Christian's Duty, to render to Ceasar the Things that are Ceasar's, considered.
An Address to Doc. Alison & Mr. Ewing; a vindication of the Quakers.

179. A Sermon;—R. Wilson.
Sermons to Gentlemen.
Death;—a Poetical Essay.
The Grave;—a Poem.—An Elegy.
A Discourse and Prayer.
Sundry Letters & Papers.
A Sermon.
Abstract of a Charter for propogating the Gospel in foreign Parts, &c.
A Sermon.

180. Two Discourses and a Prayer.
Sundry do. . . . do. . . .
Character of S. Fothergill, &c.
An Epistle to Friends in Tortola.
The Trial of Spirits.
A Short Account of the Quakers.
An Epistle of Advice.
Ditto to the Inhabitants of S. Carolina.
An Alphabetical Extract of the subjects of Epistles.
Ditto of Advices.

181. An Address respecting Personal Security.
Declaration of Right in Legislation.
The legal Means of Political Reformn.
A short Tract on the Doctrine of nullum tempus occurrit Regi.
An Examination into the Rights of the Indian Nations in America.
An Address to the freemen of S. Carrol.
Observations on the Reconciliation of G. Britain & the Colonies.
A Plan of a Compact with G. Britain.
Historical Narrative & Description of Louisiana & W. Florida.

182. Personal Slavery established by Custom.
Considerations on keeping Negroes.
A short Account of that Part of Africa, inhabited by the Negroes; German & English.
A forensic Dispute on the Legality of enslaving the Africans.
An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements on slavery.

A Vindication of the Address.
183. The Law of Liberty, or Royal Law.
An Appendix to a Representation.
The just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of GOD, &c. Appendix.
An Essay on Slavery.
An Elegy;—Appendix.
The Law of passive Obedience.
A Serious Address to the Rulers of America respecting Slavery.
*184. A Journal of two Visits to the Indians. [by David Jones. Burlington, 1774. E. 13356]
An Exhortation to refrain from vain Diversions. [by A. D. Shrewsbury, 1769]
Abridgment of Hopkins' Memoirs relating to the Stockbridge Indians.[15] [Phila., 1757. E. 7916]
Translation of a German on Indian Affairs. [by C. Weiser. E. 8062]
Experiments & Considerations on the Generation of Plants. [by James Logan, London, 1747, S. ii. 129f.]
New Improvements on Gardening. [by Richard Bradley. London, 1717]
Directions respecting Silkworms. [by J. Ottolenghe. Phila., 1771. E. 12172]
Respecting the Penna. Fire-places.[16] [Phila., 1744. E. 5395]
*185. Observations on the Amer. Revolution. [by G. Morris. Phila., 1779. E. 16625]
A Letter on the Quebec Bill. [by Lord Lyttleton. New York, 1774. E. 13387]
Speech of Earl Chatham. [Phila., 1775. E. 14405]
Constitution of the State of N. York. [Phila., 1777. E. 15474]
Candid Examination of the mutual Claims of G. Britain. [New York, 1775. E. 14059]
Declaration of the People's natural Right in Legislation. [by G. Sharp. Phila., 1774. E. 13609]
Plain Truth;—on a Pamphlet, entitled Common Sense. [Phila., 1776. Also:] Rationalis.—Cato. [Phila., 1776. E. 15088]
*186. Thoughts on Slavery. [by John Wesley. London, 1774]
Argument in the Case of J. Sommerset. [by Mr. Hargrave. London, 1762].
An Appendix to a Representation. [by G. Sharp. London, 1772]
An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements on Slavery. [by Benj. Rush. Phila., 1773. E. 12993]
Part of a Pamphlet. [A Vindication by B. Rush. Phila., 1773. E. 12994 imperfect]
Serious Address to the Rulers of America. [by Anthony Benezet? Trenton, 1783. E. 17839]
Slavery:—a Defence for. [by Richard Nisbet. Phila., 1773. E. 12903]
Two Petitions of Friends, respecting ye Africans. [Phila., 1784. H. 4445]
*187. Death:—a Poetical Essay. [by B. Porteus. Phila., 1773. E. 12958]
Resignation;—a Poem. [by E. Young. Phila., 1764. E. 9888]

[15] Missing.
[16] Missing. This work, both written and printed by Franklin, was evidently stolen out of the volume by someone familiar with its value to collectors.

The Grave;—a Poem. [by Robert Blair. Phila., 1773. Also:]
An Elegy. [by Thomas Gray. Phila., 1773. E. 12685]
Descant on the Times;—a Poem. [by T(homas) Letchworth. Phila., 1766. E. 10355]
French Poems. [by De Pybrac and Pierre Matthieu. 1697. London, 1696]

188. Reasons for quitting the Methodist Society.
Remarks on an Address to the People called Quakers.
Doctrine of Baptisms.
Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting.
Some brief Remarks on important Subjects.
191. Sermons on various Subjects, by Thomas Hartley.
192. Primitive Morality, or the Spiritual Homilies of Macarius.
193. True Christianity:—containing the Oeconomy of God towards Man, & the Duty of Man towards God, by John Arndt.
*194. Discourses & Tracts for promoting the common Interest of true Christianity; by A. W. Boehm. [London, 1717]
*195. A dreadful Alarm upon the Clouds of Heaven, mixt with Love; by H. Hingeston. [Exeter, (1703) marked J. Stephen Benezet.]
196. Sundry Expositions and Sermons; Part of a volumn.
198. Select Works of the Arch-Bishop Leighton.
199. Serious Reply (part of the Preface wanting). S. Fuller.
208. A regular Syntax, by James Buchanan.
223. Collection of Devotional Tracts.

DUODECIMO

4. Ash John (an easy Introduction to Lowth's English Grammar, by).
*5. Archbishop of Cambray's Meditations, and Soliloquy's on religious Subjects. [Ipswich, 1756]
[Extract of Mary Gilbert. Phila., 1769. E. 11275]
[Sermons by Crisp, Dewsberry, etc. Phila., 1768. E. 10868]
[The Ground and Nature of Christian Redemption. Phila., 1768. E. 10918]
†[Extract of a Letter wrote by a pious Person. E. 12764; cf. 13145]
12. Bury (Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth).
13. Barnard Thomas, his historical Character of Eliz. Hastings.
22. Craig James (Poems on divine Subjects) by the Rev. Mr.
23. Christian Perfection (the plain Path to).
*24. Contentment, the Art of, by the Author of the whole Duty of Man. [Phila., 1753. H. 1331]
25. Crisp's Sermons.
*27. Davidies, a Sacred Poem). [by Thos. Ellwood, Phila.; Franklin and Hall, 1751, though title page is missing]
28. Sixteen Discourses on the Redemption of Man by the Death of Christ.
*29. Davies Richard (an Account of the Services and Travels of). [Phila., 1752. E. 6833]
39. Fuller Samuel, some Principles and Precepts of the Christian Religion by.
43. Grosvenor Benjamin, the Mourner, or the Afflicted relieved, by.
44. Gregory Doctor, a Father's Legacy to his Children, by.
45. Gunter's Line made easy, by William Leybourn.
46. Guion Madam, the Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth, by.
51. History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution.

52. History of the Kingdom of Ireland, being an Abridgment of Dean Story's late Wars in Ireland
*54. Joseph (the History of) a Poem. [by Eliz. Rowe. Phila., 1767. E. 10760]
†[Extract from an Address in Virginia Gazette. E. 10555]
†[Emptiness & Vanity of a Life. Phila., 1767. E. 10609]
†[Dreadful visitation of the Plague. Phila., 1767. E. 10599]
[Some Memoirs of John Roberts. Phila., 1766. E. 10482]
†[Daily Conversation with God, Armelle Nicolas. Phila., 1767. H. 2289]
55. Jones William (Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, by)
59. Law William (the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Regeneration, by)
63. An authentic Narrative of some remarkable and interesting Particulars in the Life of John Newton.
*64. Oeconomy of Human Life. [by R. Dodsley? Phila., 1781. E. 17139]
*72. Monsieur Paschall's Thoughts on Religion. [Edinburgh, 1751]
73. Pugh Ellis (a Salutation to the Britons, by)
74. Paynes Thomas a Kempis.
75. Poems sacred, by various Authors.
*81. Shewen William, the true Christian Faith and Experience by. [London, 1767]
87. Sermons—The great Doctrines of the Gospel of Christ, owned, believed, and asserted, in several Sermons.
*88. Smith John, select Discourses, by. [Edinburgh, 1756]
89. Sermons.
92. Tryon Thomas, the good Housewife made a Doctor, by.
*93. †Tracts, a Collection of religious. [Phila., 1773. Title page only; cf. E. 13145]
†[The Plain Path to Christian Perfection. Phila., 1772. E. 12530]
†[The Mighty Destroyer Displayed. Phila., 1774. cf. E. 13146]
†[Thoughts upon Slavery by John Wesley. Phila., 1774. cf. E. 13146]
†[Sermons by Stephen Crisp. Phila., 1773. E. 12740]
94. Travels of a Philosopher translated from the French of M. Le Poivre.
*102. Wesley John, his Works, 12 Vols.[17]
103. Whitefield, the Rev. Mr. a Continuation of his Journal during the Time he was detained in England by the Embargo.
104. Whitefield George (an Account of the Life of) from His Birth to the Time of his entering into Holy Orders.
*105. Young E. (a Vindication of Providence by) London, 1761.
*106. Zubley J. J. (the real Christian's Hope in Death by) [Germantown, 1756. E. 7825]
*109. Considerations on pure Wisdom, &c, [by John Woolman. Phila., 1768. E. 11124]

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[17] Only one of the volumes is extant. It contains the following, all by John Wesley:
An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion. Sixth Ed. Bristol, 1771.
A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion. Fourth Ed. Bristol, 1765.
An Extract of the Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Haliburton. Fourth Ed. Bristol, 1773.
A Plain Account of the People Called Methodists. Dublin, 1749.

[†Serious and Awful Considerations. Phila., n. d. E. 11175]
†An Extract of Mary Gilberts Journal. [Also:] E. Hastings.—D. Bernard (*sic*). [Phila., 1769. E. 11275]
†Thoughts on the Nature of War. [E. 14662]
A Letter. [by John Sayre. E. 15078]—Dod's Sayings. [Phila., 1768. E. 10884]
†On sundry subjects. [i. e. A Plain Path to Christian Perfection (without title page). E. 12530]
Testimony concerning A. Shackleton. [Dublin, 1774. S. ii. 564]
†Letter from E. Webb to A. W. Boehm; with his Answ. [Phila., 1783. E. 18295]
†An account of E. Andrews.[18]—†do. of the Quakers. [Second Ed. E. 16712]
†Observations on slavery. [E. 17096]—†Notes. [on the Slave Trade. E. 17095]
†Remarks on Spi. Liquors. [E. 13831]—†Reflections. [E. 15738]
The vanity of this Life, &c.—E. Hastings. [Phila., 1767]
Christian Piety freed from Delusions. [Phila., 1766. E. 10455]
Account of the Plague. [by D. Defoe. Phila., 1767. E. 10599]—†Sundry Pieces. [i. e., Extract of a Letter. E. 12764]
Sermons. [by Crisp, Dewsberry, Penn, etc. Phila., 1768. E. 10868]

110. Memoirs of John Roberts.
Extracts from the Journal of E. Harper.
The Death of Abel.
Caution & Warning to G. Britain & the Colˢ.
An Address &c. on slavekeeping
Observations on inslaving & purchasing Negroes &c.—Penitens.
An Account of the Quakers;—A. Benezett.
Some account of Isaac Shoemaker.
A Short Account of Africa.

*111. Tender Counsel & Advice;—W. Penn. [Phila., 1783. E. 18082]
†A short Account of the Quakers. [Phila., 1783. E. 17840]
†Extract of a Letter wrote by a German. [E. 12764]
A brief Examination of the Practice of the Times.— . . R. S.[19]
Christ's Spirit, a Christian's Strength [by William Dell, London, 1704]
Youth's friendly Monitor, &c. [London, 1756]
†Remarks on Education. [E. 15739]
†Christian Piety, by Philalethes. E. 16952.
†The Blessed Effect of a Holy Life. H. 3995.
†Extract from . . . Virginia Gazette. E. 10555.

*112. †An Extract. [by William Law. Phila., 1780. E. 16817]—Thoughts on War. [Phila., 1780. E. 16817]
†Extract. [E. 10555]—Penitens.—Admonitions. [Also:] †Bernard's Letters.—Account of the Plague. [Phila., 1784. E. 18354]

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[18] An account of the convincement of Edward Andrews. This edition, 4 pages, n. d., n. p., appears not to be listed by either Smith, Hildeburn, or Evans.

[19] Missing. A MS. note in the volume says: "'A brief Examination' &c was removed from this volume 10 mo. 1882 and sold to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania ($5.00) by direction of the Library Committee. The tract was *incomplete.*" It was also a duplicate. Written by Ralph Sandiford and printed, though without his name, by Benjamin Franklin in 1729, it was one of the earliest Quaker antislavery writings.

†E. Hastings.—The Hermit. [etc. E. 18355]
Considerations on keeping Negroes. [by John Woolman. Phila., 1754. E. 7340]
†The mighty Destroyer displayed, &c. [Phila., 1774. E. 13146]
†[Christian Piety by Philalethes. E. 16952]
†[Notes on the Slave Trade. E. 17095]
†Account of the Quakers. [Second Ed. Phila., n. d. E. 16712]—†Slave Trade. [Germantown, 1759. E. 8298]
†Considerations on important Subjects. [Phila., 1778. E. 15737]

113. Christian Letters. . . . . J. Alleine.
A collection of Letters by various Persons.
On slavery, &c.

114. Observations on sundry Subjects.
A short Account of the Quakers.
The Young Man's Magazine.
An Epistle, 1775.
Sundry Epistles.—S. Crisp's.—Dod's Sayings.
A Treatise concerning Marriage;—M. West.
Remarks on the Education of Youth.
Christian Piety &c.—A Nicolas.
Serious Reflections &c.
The nature & Design of Christianity.

*115. Considerations on the true Harmony of Mankind. J. Woolman. [Phila., 1770. E. 11949]
Dialogue concerning Elections & Reprobation. [Phila., 1741. E. 4690]
On Toleration.—J. Locke. [Wilmington, 1764. E. 9712]
A Treatise on Tythes. [Phila., 1771. Also:] Brief Remarks;—J. Phipps. [Phila., 1771. E. 12257]
Account of the Quakers.—J. Randall. [Bristol, 1747]
A short Method with the Deists. [by Chas. Leslie. Phila., 1783. E. 17999]
The Nature & Design of Christianity. [by John Wesley. Phila., 1744. E. 5511]
†Extracts of Letters.—The Hermit. [E. 13832]
†Observations respecting ye Indian Natives. [Phila., 1784. E. 18356]
†Appendix. [Phila., 1784. E. 18356]

117. A Narrative of the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw.
Remarks on the Education of Youth.
Armelle Nicolas.—Extract &c.
Serious Reflections—Thoughts on War.
Extract from Law's Address.
Religious Instruction recommended.
Brief Account of the Quakers.
A Call to the unfaithful Professors of Truth;—J. Estaugh.—Epistles.
The Baseness of Slandering & Backbiting.
General Rules of the United Society.
A Prayer.—Penitens.
Directions for a holy Life.

118. History of Joseph; a Poem.
The Hermit:—Essay on the Creation.
Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Essex.—Sundry other Extracts.
Universal Prayer.
The Death of Abel.—S. Crisp's Epistle.

Two Letters:—Sam. Crisp.
The Last Day;—a Poem—E. Young.

*119. †Extract from a Piece on Slavery. [G. Sharp. Phila., 1771. E. 11985b]
†Historical Account of Guinea, &c. [Phila., 1771. E. 11985a]
Enthusiastical Errors detected, by A. Brownell. [n. p., 1783. E. 17856]

120. Historical account of Guinea.
Extract from a Piece on Slavery.
Extract from an Address.
Extract of a Sermon.

*121. †Considerations on important Subjects. [Phila., 1778. E. 15737]
†Christian Piety. [E. 16952]—A Nicolas.
Baxter's Directions to Slave Holders. [Phila., 1785]
†Observations on Slavery. [E. 17096]
An Account of E. Andrews.[18]
Reflections.—†Thoughts on Slavery. [by J. Wesley. Phila., 1774. E. 13762]
Observations on Slavery, &c., &c. [by Chas. Crawford. Phila., 1784. E. 18425]
†[Extract . . . of Slavery by G. Sharp. Phila., 1771. E. 11985b]

122. Life of Jane Hoskins.
Serious Considerations on Election and Reprobation
Grounds of a holy Life. H. Turford.
Account of the Principles of the Quakers;—J. Randall.
Free Grace;—a Sermon;—J. Westley.
Letter of G. Whitefield to J. Westley.
Considerations on Predestination.
Nature & Design of Christianity.
A Mite into the Treasury.
An Epistle of Caution respecting Slaves.

*123. A cloud of Witnesses, for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ. [Glasgow, 1755. MS. notes by A. B.]

124. A Practical Comment on the 107th Psalm;—W. Romaine.

125. An Appeal: or, a Rational Demonstration of Man's Corrupt & lost Estate.—J. Fletcher.

126. The uncertainty of the signs of Death.

127. Four Sermons;—by T. Bacon.

*128. The Everlasting Gospel commanded to be preached by Jesus Christ, concerning the Eternal Redemption found out by Him. by P. Seigvolck. [Germantown, 1753. E. 7033]
[The Fatal Consequences . . . Predestination and Probation. M. K. Germantown, 1753. E. 7032]

129. Rise & Progress of the Quakers; W. Penn.

130. Considerations on Slavery.
Advantages & Disadvantages of a Married State.
Armelle Nicolas.—The Plague.
Penitens.—Directions for a holy life.
S. Crisps Letters.
Rudiments of ancient History Sacred & Profane (part gone).

131. The Queen's Closet opened; being a Collection of Receipts in Physics, Cookery, &c.

132. Tobler's Almanack from 1755, to the end of 1764.

DUTCH QUAKER PEACE-MAKERS*

By William I. Hull

Willliam Savery was accompanied on this journey by David Sands, another American Quaker preacher, and by William Farrer of England. Although the whole Continent was in the throes of the military cyclone, the little party of Quaker missionaries traversed in safety northwestern Germany, the Netherlands, and the whole length of France. In Amsterdam, the Comité de Surveillance examined them, treated them with much civility and granted them through the French consul a pass to travel towards France; the American consul visaed their passports also, but advised them to see the American and French ambassadors in The Hague. In the Hague they went to see the French ambassador, who treated them respectfully, and although he said he had no authority to give a pass to an Englishman, with whose country France was at war, he thought Farrer would meet with no interruption as long as he remained in the company of the other two, "engaged in the good work of promoting religion among the people." John Quincy Adams was the ambassador from the United States at The Hague, and he received his fellow Americans very courteously, Savery records, endorsed their passes, and gave them such intelligence respecting their journey into France as was in his power. On their way through Rotterdam, they were invited to hold their meetings in "the episcopal worship-house, built by Queen Anne for the benefit of the English residing here; . . . many of the English and Scotch people having gone away from Rotterdam in the heat of the war, among whom was the priest, it has been shut up for some time; the remaining part of the congregation, seeing that Friends' house was too small, offered it freely." Before the Napoleonic tempest had quite ended, in 1814, another Quaker missionary from southern France and America, namely, Stephen Grellet, completed an extraordinary journey in Europe, "amid robbers, Napoleon's defeated soldiers, armies of Cossacks, and military despots."

* This is the continuation and conclusion of an article the first part of which was printed in the spring number of the Bulletin, pages 40-45.

Quaker travelers amidst the war-torn Continent were not always so fortunate as to be unmolested by the dogs of war; nor was it only the Turkish pirates of Algiers who captured them. When Jan Claus piloted George Fox through Delfzijl in 1677, when Holland was at war with France, the guards of the town questioned Claus as to Fox's being "a militia soldier," evidently judging by Fox's stalwart frame that he was a deserter from the army; but when assured to the contrary, they permitted the two Quaker missionaries to pass peaceably on. When Fox and Claus arrived in Emden, they could not procure a wagon and horses to continue their journey into Germany, since "the master of the wagon durst not let his wagon go, for the Bishop of Münster's soldiers were up in the country, and he was afraid they would take away his horses." The two travelers pursued their journey, nevertheless, and saw many footprints of the war, among them the ruins of "Olden borrough [Oldenburg], a famous great place latly burned downe, and but few houses standinge."

Two years later, Roger Longworth, after visiting the Friends in Frederikstad, writes: "I am about to goe to Hamburg through the armies: Dannemarke's army lies about Hamburg and the French are on the South of the River [Elbe]. But I hope the Lord will make way." Way was made for him in safety; but other similar wayfarers on land met with varied and sometimes insuperable difficulties. We learn, for example, of Benjamin Furly of Rotterdam intervening in behalf of two of his friends who had been arrested on the frontiers of Austria-Hungary and condemned as Turkish spies. Later still, Gharrett van Hassen, a Dutch Quaker of Utrecht, traveling in Scotland in 1745, the year of the second Stuart attempt to regain the British throne, was stopped by a party of soldiers who demanded: "What King are *you* for?" The soldiers themselves may have been for either King Charles or King George, and Van Hassen's answer was critical; but shrewdness as well as honesty caused him to reply, "I am for the King of Heaven," whereupon he was permitted to pursue his service in God's Kingdom. The "aristocrat," Stephen Grellet, was captured and ordered to be shot by the French Revolutionists in 1791, but managed to escape to Amster-

dam. An Anglo-Dutch party of Quaker missionaries, seven years later, were imprisoned as spies on the French border and prevented from continuing their journey into southern France.

Travel on the water was equally beset with danger from pirates and war. Voyages across from Holland to England, and vice versa, had to be made in a dash through a stiff breeze, so as to avoid capture by French privateers. Indeed, in the earliest days of Quakerism, it was difficult to induce sea captains to grant passage on their ships to Quaker travelers, lest their other passengers should rebel, or disembarcation of their unwelcome guests be denied, or lest the Quaker "Jonahs" should cause the ship to be overwhelmed on the voyage by the waves of a righteously indignant God.

William Caton's experiences with pirates in 1659 is typical of many. On his voyage of that year from Holland to England, his ship was chased by a pirate, and his fellow-passengers were supplied by its captain with weapons for defence; Caton declined the weapons in favor of submission to the will of God; and a stiff breeze soon sprang up and enabled the ship to escape capture. When Caton arrived in England, he was promptly thrown in prison; but he found there fellow Quakers who had been taken from a ship which was captured, when it continued its voyage, by a Turkish pirate and taken to Algiers. Such were the ups and downs, the captures and escapes, of Quaker voyagers in those war-riddled times. A few years later, a shipload of Quakers being sent into exile from England were captured by the Dutch and taken to Holland, where one of them, Jan Claus, became a leader of Dutch Quakerism.

The Spaniards, as well as the French and Turks, appear in the rôle of privateers or pirates who chased and sometimes captured the Quakers traveling by sea. One party of them, whose ship was convoyed to Hamburg in 1798, was detained longer than usual on their "floating habitation" by a roundabout voyage by way of Yarmouth to escape Spanish pursuers.

Although among the chief sufferers from wars and the most strenuous opponents of them, the Quakers were blamed by the Dutch for having caused them! The Reformed clergy in Emden were particularly denunciatory of them as having brought down

the wrath of heaven in the form of wars because of the religious toleration granted them by an unwise government. In Groningen, the Mennonites, who purchased their exemption from persecution by yielding to military demands for war loans and service, denounced the Friends for sticking to their peace principles and thereby endangering all toleration. In 1672, when Groningen was besieged by Louis XIV's ally, the Bishop of Münster, the imminent peril from outside caused the persecution of the Quakers within the city to be relaxed, until heavy showers and the opening of the canals caused the siege to be raised, when the persecution was renewed.

The Quakers on their side denounced the sins and shortcomings of the inhabitants as the reason for the wars, the plague, and other evils that afflicted them. William Caton in Amsterdam, George Fox in the ruined city of Oldenburg, and Steven Crisp in Leeuwarden where some Dutch Quaker prisoners were undergoing martyrdom, were leaders in this denunciation. The Dutch Quakers also, as at Krefeld, utilized the suffering and fear of warfare, especially as it had been ruthlessly waged in the Palatinate, as the basis of an appeal for the exercise of kind-heartedness and toleration towards them, the apostles of peace and the opponents of all wars.

It seemed to the Quakers to be the very irony of fate that "Fifth Monarchy" uprisings in London and threats of them in Holland should be charged upon themselves. Stories were circulated in Holland that the Quakers, so peaceable in outward seeming, wore swords and conspired against the government in secret. Now and then, of course, a young Quaker lad was led away into the army and navy; as, for instance, Benjamin Furly's son Arent, who was appointed secretary to the Earl of Peterborough and in that capacity issued the earl's orders as commander-in-chief of the allied forces against Louis XIV in Spain.

But the great majority of the Dutch Quakers remained true, at least in the early part of their history, to their peace principles; and they joined with the English Friends in publishing pamphlets and proclamations in Dutch and German declaring their innocence of all wars and plottings. Some of these pamphlets were so forceful, or so incendiary in the eyes of officials, that in

Amsterdam, in Friend Neisy Derik's house, a stock of them fresh from the printer's was seized and destroyed, and she was fined; but this action was not taken until several hundred of them had been dispatched for distribution in places outside of the City. On the reverse side of an edition of one of the leaflets which the Quakers distributed protesting their innocence, some enemy printed a list of Fifth Monarchy charges against them!

Throughout their history the Quakers in Holland were called upon to bear up against militarism in its varied forms. Universal compulsory military and naval training and service was resisted by Friends everywhere, and it had to be met in Holland from almost the beginning. About 1660, Jacob Jacobs, one of the first Friends in Hoorn, North Holland, was fined about $15 for refusing to bear arms; on his refusal to pay the fine, the officials took away the door of his house; he had a new one made, but they returned with soldiers, broke open the doors to the house and a closet, took all the money they could find, and then rifled a cupboard of forty ells of Hollands linen and a brass warming-pan. Summoned before the magistrates later, Jacob appeared with his hat on, and was fined about $45, which was also over-collected from his confiscated property.

Jakob Klaasz, a Friend of Aalsmeer, near Haarlem, is said by a contemporary non-Quaker author [3] to have "refused, on the pretext that God had endowed him with His living word so that he might set up again Israel's kingdom, to pay all tributes and impositions for the support of war; for which he was imprisoned several times, among others in Haarlem, together with his brother, for a term of nine months; but he was always set at liberty without having paid anything." Impressed by Jakob's character, the author writes of him in his doggerel verse:

An eel-pout (*Puit-aal*) caught in a bog, stone-deaf, with unshaved cheeks,
And clad in a coarse pea-jacket (*Pij*): a scorn and jest of many Doctors,
Sends his voice all stammering forth (*stem al staam'rend*), and says he knows much wisdom,—
Much wisdom: not from universities, where everyone now is lost in pleasure,
But fetched from God's high throne. He shows us Christ's Kingdom here on earth
And how meek people, wholly worthy, are adorned with Crown and Scepter.

[3] Jan Zoet, in "Het Groote Vishnet."

Jan Derx, a Friend of Groningen, in 1672 when that city was besieged by the French, refused to obey the magistrates' command to take his turn at standing guard on the city's walls, was imprisoned therefor, and suffered social boycott and official prosecution during the next quarter century.

Before Louis XIV and Charles II launched their wars against Holland, the proverbially tolerant Dutch granted liberty to those conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, taking oaths, etc.; and William Caton used this precedent in 1660 as an argument to persuade Charles II to do likewise.[4] Friend Pieter Hendricks of Amsterdam, illustrative of this toleration, was admitted to full citizenship in that city, the magistrates telling him that, "as they were sensible that bearing arms and swearing [taking oaths] were also matters contrary to his religious persuasion, they should not be put upon him."

But this golden age of liberty was already hastening to its close. In 1665, the year in which Charles II attacked Holland, William Caton writing from Amsterdam said: "Their [the Dutch] fleet here is not yet out, for their ships as J hear are not all ready; many that goes vpon their men of warre, goe by Constraint through necessitie rather then of a willing mind." The half century between 1665 and 1721, which was filled with Louis XIV's wars of aggression and the Great Northern War, brought fines and imprisonment upon the Quakers of Holland, Danzig, and the Rhineland.

But during this very period, the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania loomed up as a refuge from militarism, and the Quakers of the Continent as well as of England joyously flocked to it. The persecuted Pietists and Mennonites of Germany, also, followed the migrating example of their Dutch Quaker brethren in the Rhineland; and thus, from Krefeld and Krisheim, as well as from many another place in the Low Countries, came a stream of immigrants who founded Germantown and enriched Penn's colony with the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

It seemed marvelous in the eyes of Penn's fellow Quakers in the Old World that a government based upon the principles

[4] In a letter dated "from Amsterdam in Holland, the 28. of 10. month, 1660," published, in English, in London; no Dutch version is known.

of peace could succeed, even in the New World, during that half century of almost universal war. Their anxiety that Penn should nevertheless maintain the standard of absolute pacifism is reflected not only in the correspondence of his Friends in England, but also in that of the Friends in Holland.

A certificate of removal from Slooten to Pennsylvania, granted by the Friesland Monthly Meeting, in 1684, to Cornelis Sioerds (or Siverts) and Systke Wimmers, his wife, bears love and greeting to Penn and his associates, and expresses their "joy and comfort to hear of each other's progress and growth in the precious Truth, to the honor and glory of the name of God." Another certificate of removal to Pennsylvania was granted in the same year to Jan Willems Boekenoogen by the Amsterdam Monthly Meeting. It reads in part as follows: "To the Church of God in Philadelphia. After y^e^ salutation of our dear love in y^e^ pure and holy Truth of God whereof by y^e^ grace and mercy of y^e^ Lord we w^th^ you are made ptakers every one according to his measure, We doe wish intirely and w^th^ all our hearts y^t^ grace and Wisdome may abound and be multiplied amongst you and us that so we therby being guided in all thing may be as a fragrant odour in y^e^ sight of all nations. And dear Brethren as for you y^e^ Eyes of many nations are turned towards you in expectation whether your government and making of lawes and also y^e^ execution of y^e^ same will agree with the Testimonies of the faithfull Servants of y^e^ Lord, in this age whose Pfession concerning those Pticulars formerly hath bin published to the World. And therefore tis our desire that y^e^ God of truth and wisdom whose holy and great name we do publikly profess before man may be pleased to guide us all in every thing to y^e^ honour and glory of his great name, to y^e^ praise and renown of y^e^ Truth of God and to your and our Comfort and Joy in y^e^ Lord in whose gratious Protection we do comitt you w^th^ ourselves Amen."

Gertrud Deriks of Amsterdam, a leading Quaker of that city, wrote to Penn also in 1684, expressing anxiety as to a rumor she had heard that there were some cannon in his province "dedicated to peace." Penn replied to her letter, repudiating the report that he was celebrating peace in that militaristic fashion,

or that he had the cannon in preparation for war. His reply was as follows: "There was an old timber house below a gaol, above the sessions house, that had seven small, old iron cannon upon the green about it, some on the ground, others on broken carriages; not one soldier, or arms borne, or militia man seen, since I was first in Pennsylvania. So that I am as innocent of any act of hostility as she herself; for the guns lying so, without soldiers, powder, bullet, or any garrison, is no more than if she bought a house with a musket in it; and the guns are to go to New York, for they belong to that place; however, I take it kindly of her."

The Friends who remained in Holland continued to struggle with the demands of militarism upon them throughout the rest of the eighteenth century. Demands for military training and service, and war taxes both upon themselves individually and upon their meeting houses, bore heavily upon them. Finally the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars at the end of the century swept them out of existence, both by preventing them from receiving any new members, and by causing their descendants to merge with the Dutch Reformed or Mennonite congregations.

The testimony against war and for peace was constantly proclaimed by the Quakers in Holland by spoken as well as by printed word. Some of the English preachers who spread Quakerism there, such as Giles Barnadiston, had once been soldiers themselves; and this impelled the Dutch Friends all through their history to make a special appeal to the military class. Even in barracks and on parade grounds, we find John Pemberton and Alexander Wilson of Philadelphia exhorting the soldiers in Zwolle to return to a peaceful life.

One Quaker testimony against war took the form of a poem written by "the last of the Quakers in Holland," Jean Etienne Mollet. It was composed in the French language while Mollet still lived in southern France, and was entitled "The Marseillaise of Peace." [5] Although admirable in form and substance, it has not yet been substituted in a demilitarized France for its popular rival written by Rouget de Lisle. Another more permanently

[5] See the *Friends Intelligencer*, Vol. LXV (Fourth Month 4, 1908), pp. 210-212.

useful memorial in Holland to the Quaker peace testimony is the school in Amsterdam known as *Amsterdams Welvaren.* The romantic story of John Warder's prize money received during the American Revolution, which endowed this school, is well known in Quaker annals; but the part which Jean Mollet, the Quaker of Amsterdam, played in founding the school, in 1828, and in superintending its management until his death a quarter century later, is one of the finest pages in Dutch Quaker history.[6]

The most direct efforts which the Quakers of Holland engaged in as makers of peace were in connection with the various official conferences which met to settle disputes between the warring nations *after* the wars had been fought. Beginning with the meeting at Nimeguen, in 1678, the Dutch Friends took charge of the printing and delivery of the letters which Fox and Barclay wrote to the ambassadors. Fox's letter was written in Amsterdam on his visit to that city the year before; and a Latin version of it, together with Barclay's "Letter of Love" to them, also in Latin, was printed in Rotterdam, and copies were delivered to each of the envoys representing thirteen of the belligerent powers, in February, 1678. Besides the appeals and admonitions in these letters for a genuine and lasting peace among nations, copies of Barclay's *Theses Theologicae* were also presented to them with an appeal for religious toleration which would help to preserve the peace.

Gerard Croese declares in his *Historia Quakeriana* (1695) that this was one of the only two things done by the Quakers in Holland which are worth remembering! But it did not avail with the belligerent governments of Europe, for only a short truce intervened before the outbreak of the next war. To the negotiators at Rijswijk, close by The Hague, where England, Holland, Germany, France and Spain made another truce in 1697, the octogenarian John Crook, or Jan Kroock as he was called in Holland, directed another appeal for "a lasting Peace and True Reconciliation." Quite in the spirit of Jan Smet a generation before, and of the twentieth century's Christian pacifists, he warned the nations that "the Lion's war" could be permanently ended, not on a mere truce in outward warfare, but only

[6] *Ibid.,* Second Month 8, 1908, pp. 85-86.

on the triumph of the Lamb in an inward war upon the lusts and corruptions from which outward wars proceed. He too insisted that this peace must be based upon religious toleration, and upon the substitution of the Kingdom of God for excessive nationalism. Then, he concluded, the King of Kings would send forth his ambassadors of the nations yet afar off, that they also may be partakers of a saving and lasting peace through Jesus Christ.[7]

When the long warfare with Louis XIV ended for England and Holland in the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the Friends of both countries were immersed in the "Period of Quietism," and those of Utrecht itself had become submerged in the Mennonites, or removed to Pennsylvania; so that there appears to have been no Quaker word written or spoken to the ambassadors at that congress. A century later (in 1818), a Quaker preacher from New York, Dr. John Griscom, visiting Utrecht, was chiefly impressed by the cleanliness of its streets, its cathedral tower and chimes, and the pen with which the famous treaty had been signed.

The Friends of England and Holland did intervene in an interesting way in the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, which agreed on a truce in another quarter century of European warfare. The Amsterdam Friends' meeting, with Jan Vanderwerf at its head, had engaged in a long and finally successful struggle to prevent its meeting house from being "sold for lack of funds, to our hearty grief," as Jan had written; but no sooner was this financial problem solved than a new war tax was levied on the meeting house in the year of the peace treaty, because of "the expenses of the States General in assisting our allies in the war." High prices and the derangement of trade and industry caused by the war added to the economic burden the Dutch Friends were carrying; and for both this reason and in furtherance of their religious testimony they cordially welcomed, or perhaps initiated, the new attempt to establish a permanent, "Quaker" peace.

Probably in response to Jan Vanderwerf's letters, and reverting to the precedent set by the Friends at Nimeguen in 1678,

[7] Several of John Crook's writings were published, in Dutch or French, in Amsterdam and Rotterdam; but no Dutch or Latin version of this broadside is forthcoming.

Friend Simeon Warner took the matter up with the London Meeting for Sufferings. The minutes of this meeting for Fifth month 15, 1748,[8] record that he proposed "to this meeting that some of Robert Barclay's Apologies in Different Languages, as may be most proper, may be sent to Aix Le Chapel, to be presented to the Plenipotentiaries met there." A committee of seven was therefore appointed to consider the proposal. This committee approved of the project and prepared "a paper to go with the Apologies to Aix La Chapelle by way of address to the Embassadors which was read and agreed to" by the Meeting for Sufferings, which ordered it sent "in English and Latin with the Apologies to John Vanderwerf at Amsterdam for him to Deliver to the Several Embassadors or ministers at Aix La Chapelle."

Jan Vanderwerf accepted this commission and traveled through the Netherlands and the Rhineland to the old Carolingian and imperial city of Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle. Here he labored for a week in September and October, 1748, and kept a careful diary of his experiences and conversations with the peace envoys.[9] From this account the following items are gleaned.

His peace ammunition, aside from the Quakerism embodied in himself, consisted of copies of Robert Barclay's "Apology for the True Christian Divinity" in its Latin, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, and English editions. The Latin copies he presented to the Sardinian, Genoese and Modena ambassadors, and the Papal nuncio; the French copies to the French and Austrians; the Spanish to the Spanish; the German copies to the Imperial, Prussian, Bavarian, Polish and Saxon, Hanoverian, and Swedish representatives; the Dutch to the envoys of the Netherlands and of the House of Orange; and the English to the ambassadors from England. Two copies of an edition were presented to each ambassador, one for himself or his secretary, and one for his sovereign. Together with copies of the "Apology," Vanderwerf presented copies of a letter "signed by six principal men of our society at London," [10] as he informed the Swedish ambassador.

[8] Vol. 28, p. 342.

[9] This is preserved in an English manuscript form in the Roberts Collection at Haverford College.

[10] These were David Barclay, Simeon Warner, Thomas Hyam, Joseph Ollive, Jacob Hagen, and John Hayard.

The Imperial ambassador, Count Caunitz, in his interview with Vanderwerf, showed evident anxiety that the other ambassadors, especially the British and French, should not be omitted from the visitation; and when told that the latter's porter had refused access to him, the count clapped Vanderwerf's messenger (who had been sent after the first interview with an extra copy of the book and letter) on the shoulder and told him that Vanderwerf should try again the next morning! The English ambassador, the Earl of Sandwich, read the letter and expressed his thanks, saying that "he would do his best towards so good a work." On his second visit to the French ambassador, Count St. Severin, he presented the two copies of the book and the letter; the count gave the letter to his secretary, who read it and said that it was "about Religious affairs on which St. Severin said to me, He had no Occasion for it, and Thanked me giving them back again." The second French ambassador, Jean Gabriel Dutheil de la Porte, having learned that St. Severin had declined to accept the books declined to receive them also. The second English ambassador received the two books through his "First Secretary, who was very affable and Friendly."

The Prussian ambassador received Vanderwerf very courteously and accepted the two books, one for himself and one for his king Frederick II (who had not yet fought enough wars to be called "the Great"). Vanderwerf had "a pretty long Conversation with him on Religion, with respect to Baptism, the Supper and Preachers office, etc., asking who was the first that taught the Doctrine of the Quakers, saying further we should come into Prussia where we might Enjoy all Fredom."

The first secretary of the Spanish embassy took the two books to the ambassador, the Marquis de Soto, "and after some time returned and offered me in the Name of the Ambassador a large piece of Gold, for which I kindly thanked him and told him I could not accept it. The Secretary returned and acquainted him therewith." Having successfully escaped this trap, which Vanderwerf does not hint that he recognized as such, he and his assistants were invited by the ambassador into his antechamber, where they were "desired to accept a Dish of Coffee, Chocolate or what Else we Choose, for which we also thanked him. He said

he would take care to let the King have a Book, and his Secretary took down my name and place of abode. I then took my Leave of him."

This gold test of the Quaker envoy was evidently related in the diplomatic circle, for when Vanderwerf went to the Bavarian ambassador, he was asked how much he must have for them, as the ambassador did not desire them for nothing; "but," the diary reads, "on my refusing to take anything He [the secretary] went in again, and returned acquainting me His Excellency did not desire the Books without paying for them and otherwise I must take them again, on which he went away." Vanderwerf concludes: "I took the Books but Left the Letter."

The ambassadors from Holland received the books, but took the precaution of noting Vanderwerf's name and place of abode; while the Orange envoy accepted them only after learning that the Dutch ambassadors had done so, and after noting the address of Vanderwerf's lodging. The Sardinian ambassador accepted the two books and said through an interpreter that "He was at a loss because He might not pay for them," but expressed thanks for the gift, "wishing he could talk with me Himself."

Marquis Doria, the ambassador of the Doge of Genoa, in accepting the two Latin copies of the book, asked Vanderwerf in French whence he had come and if any Quakers lived in Holland. Having read the letter, he asked if Vanderwerf could speak Latin, and on being told no, but that he could speak a little English, the secretary asked in English if there were many Quakers in Holland. "I said few though in England many. He further asked if the Books came from the Society in Holland I said no but that my Friends in England had sent them to Amsterdam to me Requesting I would deliver them to the Ambassadors at aix La Chapelle, Each in his own Language at which he seemed to admire saying he would willingly have returned a present but that he had already understood from the Spanish Ambassador I desired nothing for them wch he was sorry for and therefore heartily thanked us desiring his Respects and Thankfullness with offers of Service, to the Society and heartily wished he could have Converse with me without an Interpreter."

The ambassador from Poland and Saxony promised to deliver one of the books to his king, and was curious to know if there were any Quakers at Aix-la-Chapelle. Count Monzone of Modena accepted two Latin books with thanks, and told Vanderwerf he had already heard of him. The porter of the Hanoverian ambassador, George II's representative, was evidently suspicious of Vanderwerf and wanted to open the package of books before giving them to the ambassador; but Vanderwerf desired to see the ambassador himself. The book being finally received, the ambassador sent word that he was too ill for an interview.

The Quaker envoy's interview with the Pope's nuncio was, appropriately, the longest of all. Vanderwerf thus records it: "With the Popes Nuncio Requested me very Friendly to come in the Convent of the Dominicans, and delivered to him two Books Latin one for him and one for the Pope with a Letter, which he read aloud there was some part of it seem'd to displease saying he should take an opportunity to answer in writing asking if any Quakers lived at Amsterdam, and how many asking also in what Language the Books were I said Latin, and having looked in them He asked if I was a Quaker. I answered yes He said further there were many Christians and many Books wrote, but True and Real Christianity consisted in obeying the Commands of Christ, to which I fully assented He asked further what Religion my forefathers were off I asked for how many Generations he meant, He answered for a Thousand years or for three or four Generations. I answered I knew no otherwise but that my first forefathers were Believers in Almighty God and in his Son Christ Jesus, and in his grace to the Sanctifying their Consciences. To which He answered That is a good Faith but yet there were some necessary Circumstances required to attend it and asked if I thought any under the Catholick Religion could be saved I answered I had no freedom to Judge of another man's Conscience He answered everyone must have a Faith or Judgment in him or Else there would be no difference between Heathen Jew Turk or Christian therefore you may certainly Judge on this Case I Friendly desired to be Excused from Judging my fellow mortalls for I found no freedom to Judge any other than myself, but as all this was done by Interpretation

it was very Difficult. The Nuncio further asked what I must have for them I said nothing yet he pressed very much for me to take some Recompence, but I said it was Recompence sufficient for me if he took the Books being one for his Principle and one for himself which seemed to please him and he thanked me for the present." [11]

Vanderwerf's final interview was with the ambassador from Sweden, which is recorded as follows: "With the Swedish Ambassador: very Friendly Received and delivered two Books High Dutch [on margin, in lead pencil: two copies] one for the King and one for him with the Letter He Thanked me saying he would deliver the Book but he was not satisfyed till I sat down with him. He offered me Coffee or Chocolate, asking me further if I brought the Books from England and if I had signed the Letter I answered no but it was signed by Six Principal men of our Society at London He said also he had already heard of my affair to which I said I did not know that there was ambassador from Sweeden at Aix La Chapelle he being Incognito otherwise should waited on him before on which I took my Leave and he wished me a good Journey."

When Vanderwerf's errand was accomplished, he sent a report to the Meeting for Sufferings, which it received with "much satisfaction," and forwarded to him the sum of "338 gilders 4 stivers, besides postage," [12] which was the amount of his expenses. Jan replied to the meeting's commendation of his "good services" by expressing his pleasure in his mission and his "good hope that this seed sown might be prosperous through God's blessing to become fruitful; and that it was a matter of surprise to him to consider that altho' he delivered them to the Several Ambassadors with his hat on, Yet none shewed an Offence at it, no, not the Pope's Nuncio. Only the Doorkeeper of the Cloyster said to his [i. e. J. Vanderwerf's] Companion that he had often heard that there were such a People called Quakers, and had a great desire to see some of that People, to which he answered that this was one."

[11] Marginal note in pencil: Some further conversation passed which cannot be introduced, owing to the defective condition of the Mss.

[12] The postage amounted to 8 *s.* 6 *d.*, and the sum total in sterling to £ 30.9.6.

Jan also reported that he had sent "six Apologies in High Dutch to the friends at Osnabrug," and had remaining 21 in German, 4 each in Latin and Spanish, 3 in French, and 2 each in English and Danish. The Meeting thereupon authorized him, "as proper Opportunity offers," to "give some of the said Apologies to Foreigners who may come to Amsterdam, especially such as may come to friends meeting there." [13]

Thus ends this naive account of a truly naive and unique endeavor to impress upon the ambassadors at a peace conference in the midst of Europe's incessant wars their duty as Christians to establish permanent peace. The Quaker peace "testimony" had been both Fox's opposition to all war and Penn's constructive plan for judicial or conciliatory settlement of disputes among the nations. But the eighteenth-century Friends stressed almost exclusively the negative side of their testimony; and it remained for a conference of ambassadors at the end of the nineteenth century to take up in earnest, in the land of Vanderwerf and Grotius, at the beautiful city of The Hague, the positive and constructive task of substituting for military settlement so vigorously opposed by Fox, the judicial and conciliatory settlement advocated by Penn, two centuries before.

It was not until the year 1899 that the nations entered upon a genuine attempt to get rid of war and preparations for it, and to substitute for the war system the pacific settlement of disputes. This great application to international relations of Fox's rejection of war and Penn's plan for an international court was appropriately begun in Holland, the land of Hugo Grotius and the home of the Dutch Quaker pacifists.

At The Hague, in 1899, the first Hague Conference established the international court which Penn had advocated in 1693, basing his advocacy of it partly upon the successful judicial experiment of the United Netherlands. It was perhaps a good omen that the title-pages of Penn's "Good Advice," which Willem Sewel translated into Dutch, and of Penn's "Essay" of 1693, which shadowed forth the international court, bore as their watchword *Beati Pacifici.*

[13] Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, for Ninth month 4th and 25th, 1748; Vol. 28, pp. 372, 378, 380.

The second Hague Conference in 1907 was held in the Hall of the Knights, an enthusiastic description of which was written by a contemporary of William Penn in 1688; but neither that visitor nor the Quaker statesman could have dreamed that all the governments in the world would some time send their representatives to a conference in that hall of militarism and feudalism for the purpose of disarming the nations and pledging them to peaceful settlement of their disputes. Perhaps to the spirit of William Penn, and certainly to the living Friend who writes this sketch, it was a source of gratitude to find at the head of the British delegation at the second Hague Conference an English Friend, Sir Edward Fry. It was a pleasure to note that Penn's plan for an international court was referred to with praise several times in the conference, and that the leading advocate of the International Court of Prize adopted by the conference was a member of Penn's religious society.

The unique and beautiful Palace of Peace on the Scheveningen Way in The Hague which houses the international courts of our time was presented to the nations by a citizen of Pennsylvania; and it would be most appropriate if the Society of Friends on both sides of the sea would present a statue of the great Founder (of colony, courts, and society as well) to stand before that palace and continue to point in the Old World, which he loved and labored for as devotedly as for the New, the path to permanent peace.

Looking back over the history of war and peace during the last two centuries and a half, it is a natural and pleasing reflection for us Friends of today that in the aftermath of Quakerism in Holland there was preserved for eventual fruition those seeds of peace among men and nations which were sown by the devoted labors and the pacific lives of the Dutch Quaker Peace Makers.

QUAINT QUAKERISMS

By J. Russell Hayes

In the older records of our monthly meetings we discern, far more fully than in recent ones, all sides of human character. In our modern meetings we note down only the obvious concerns

and the more public activities of our members; in earlier days, most of their doings were subject to official inquiry and report.

Very enlightening it is to linger for a while over the pages of antique minute books, where the serious and humorous aspects of early Quakerism are found in plenty. They surely were frank in those days! Thus, in 1803, a delinquent Friend was "treated with by the overseers and other Friends on account of Charging Mary Shaw with being a liar." (Richland Women's Preparative Meeting, 2d mo. 3, 1803.)

Maiden Creek representatives report "That Joseph Wollaston is Accused of Cursing . . . when going down Schuylkill in a Canoe." (Exeter Monthly Meeting, 4th mo. 28, 1757.)

Friend Daniel Webb was sadly at fault, although the last of his offences rather wins our sympathy. Daniel was "dealt with for absence from Meeting, Drinking to Excess and staying abroad . . . from his fambly, to the Reproach of Truth, also having set up some Grave-Stones at his Parents Graves, Which by Direction of the Monthly Meeting were Remov'd he hath approv'd of their being set up Again." (Kennett Monthly Meeting, 9th mo. 12, 1765.)

Pioneer conditions are revealed in many an early record. Friends on the frontier in Berks County suffered from fear of Indians. "Those appointed to Inquire into the Circumstances of such as are fled from the Indians, Report, that none seem to be in immediate want of Bread, tho' some are likely so to be; being drove from following their Business" by the Indians, yet think "if they can for the future be in Safety on their Places, are in hopes to rub it through, etc." (Exeter Monthly Meeting, 3d mo. 31, 1757.)

We smile perhaps over the entries that reveal a close searching after proper dress and conduct of members of meeting. New Garden Women's Meeting, 12th mo. 2, 1780, were seriously troubled "respecting Friends departing from the truth in dress and conversation particularly that of rolling and bunching the hair." The same meeting in droll phrase laments the "giving way to a drowsy disposition when assembled in our religious Meet'gs for worship and discipline, that Friends be careful not to employ such in the affairs of truth."

The reader often gets a picture in a few words of these far-away folks: "Thomas Willits and Wife, both Ancient." (Exeter Monthly Meeting, 9th mo. 29, 1757.)

Benjamin Lightfoot's wife "was a quiet Neighbor, tho seldom attended Meetings." Benjamin himself seems to have been more talkative, for he reports having "had a pretty deal of Conversation on the Occasion" of visiting an offending member of meeting. (Exeter Monthly Meeting, 9th mo. 29, 1757.)

Neighboring boundary lines have been a source of trouble from ancient times. At Mount Vernon they will tell you how George Washington and one of his neighbors, a certain judge, had a lifelong contention over the ditch that ran between their properties. Nor were our peaceful Friends always free from such disputes, though such speedy and whole-hearted healing of the breach as the following minute records is surely admirable.

"Friends whereas I contended with my neighbor William Shipley for what I apprehended to be my right by indeavouring to turn a certain Stream of water into its natural corse till it aross to a Parsonal differance in which dispute I gave way to warmth of temper So far as to put my friend William into the pond for which action of mine being contrary to the good order of friends I am Sorry and desire thorough divine assistance to life in unity with him for the future. from your friend Joshua Way." (Wilmington Monthly Meeting, 6th mo. 8, 1751.)

Such passages as these have a heightened flavor when perused in the original portly old minute books, usually penned in a large clear hand with pious care, and passed down from one "clark" to another through the years.

For goodly measure, let me copy here an old-time recipe, found fittingly in an ancient volume of women's minutes: "Take of Sweet Oil one half Pint, of Bees Wax a quarter of a Pound, of White Risin the Same Quantity, of Caliminaris a Tea Spoon full Powder'd, also a Small Quantity of Turpentine Melt them together on a Slow fire and keep Stirring them one way from the time it simmers until such Time as it is Cold. Good for a Wound or Broken Shin."

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GOSSIP IN YORKSHIRE ABOUT WILLIAM PENN

By Henry J. Cadbury

In celebrating the memory of William Penn it is too easy to overlook the great difficulties that beset his path. His best traits, like his belief in religious toleration, led to constant misunderstandings. One of these was the suspicion held even by some of the members of his own Society that he was a Papist, which at that period of English history was the kind of suspicion that excited the worst of suppressed fears. A striking illustration of this well-known charge against Penn and of its hearsay character is to be found in a letter which I found in the Minute Book of York Monthly Meeting 1682-1707 (Shelf D, No. 2, in the safe at Friends Meeting House, Clifford St., York, insert at page 82) and copied in part.

The letter is written by Thomas Goodaire (? -1693), who was converted by Fox to Quakerism with James Nayler in 1651 at Wakefield, and is signed by him and George Canby. It is addressed "to the Monthly Meeting in Yorke, the 5th day of the 7th month [i. e., September], 1690." The charge that Penn was at St. Omers, the Jesuit Seminary, is one frequently found. Penn himself traced its origin to confusion with Saumur the Huguenot college which he had attended in France. Like the other stories it was current in the coffee houses at London. The name Akister is probably Acaster, about four miles from York. Otherwise the letter is self-explanatory. Evidently the committee did not accept the charges as valid. They go on to find other counts against Thomas Cooper. In Yorkshire as elsewhere Friends officially accepted Penn's good faith as a Quaker.

The letter follows:

Letter of Thos. Goodaire and George Canby to the Monthly Meeting in York 5th of 7th mo. 1690.

Friends we heard by Mathew Webster who was at the last month meetinge at Yorke, that he did acquaint friends, that was there, that he was tould, that Thomas Cooper did say to Thomas Bell of Selby, (who is noe friend) that he did beleeve that William Penn was a Jesuit, and thereupon friends at that meetinge desired that Thomas Goodaire and George Canby would goe, and speake to Thomas Cooper to know whether he said soe to Thomas Bell or not as Mathew Webster tould us. And according to freinds desire, we went and spoke to him; to know

whether he spoke such words to Tho: Bell or not; he answered us: that he did not know whether he did or not, but however, he said to us, that he had sufficient grounds and reasons to beleeve that William Penn was a Jesuit; and we desired him to let us know his grounds and reasons of his beleefe, that W: Penn was such a man; and the grounds and reasons which he expressed to us was as followeth; ffirst he said that there is a sufficient Credable man that lives at Okister, which tould him that he was in company with W: Penn; and that man heard W. Penn confesse and acknowledge himself for to be a Jesuit: and another thinge Tho: Cooper said that there is one Baines an atturney that lives in Yorke, tould him: that he and another man was at dinner with W. Penn in london the last tearme; and that man which was with Baines, asked W. Penn how long it was since they was Collegians together at Saint Omers; and W: Penn did not answer him one word, but threw downe his napkin upon the table and roose upp and went into another rowme, and another thinge Tho: Cooper said, that he was at Yorke when W: Penn was there and he met with two Genteele men as he called them, at the place where he was, and they had some conference together, and in their discourse one of them mentioned W: Penn and said he would prove him to be a Jesuit to his face if he would come to him, for he said that he was both his Chambermate and bed fellow at Saint Omers; and Tho: Cooper said that he went to W: Penn at that time and tould him what he heard that man say of him and he desired him to goe to him and cleare himself, but he would not, but said to Tho: Cooper how can he be a Jesuit, for they are not admitted to marry and I have both wife and children, and Tho Cooper said that this answer did not satisfy him, but rather it did Confirme him in his beleefe, that he was a Jesuit, another thinge Tho Cooper said to us that he was with a man that tould him; he heard W: Penn say; that he hoped that the quaker religion was the true religion, but if it was not, he was sure that the kings religion was, meaning kinge James; and another thing Tho. Cooper said, that W Penn set forth bookes & papers to persuade people for to take away the penal laws and teests; which if they had been taken away, he said that kinge James would soone have destroyed us all.

CADWALADER MORGAN, AN EARLY ANTISLAVERY FRIEND

By Thomas E. Drake

The investigation which I made at Haverford and elsewhere of material relating to Friends and the slavery question will add many new names to the long list of antislavery Friends. Among these is that of Cadwalader Morgan, of "Meirion," one of the earliest in the all but apostolic succession of those Friends, from Fox to Woolman, who strove to free the Society from the sin of slaveholding. I have found a manuscript by Cadwalader Morgan which shows that it was he who contributed one of the "several papers" relating to slavery which were received by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1696.[1] Another was presented

[1] Francis Daniel Pastorius's famous protest was presented to a meeting at Germantown on April 18, 1688.

by William Southeby, who has, of course, long been recognized as the leading antislavery Friend of the day.

Morgan's paper was not a detailed treatise on slavery, nor was it reënforced as was Southeby's with a copy of Fox's tract on slavery, *"Gospel Family-Order.* It was merely the plain testimony of a conscientious Friend. In it Morgan said that he had contemplated buying some slaves, but that it had been revealed to him that he "should not be Concerned with them." And he urged Friends to "Consider this thing before the Lord to know his will therein."

Simple as it was, this sincere testimony doubtless had an important influence in bringing the Yearly Meeting to take its first official stand against slavery, by adopting a minute discouraging the importation of Negroes. I shall append a copy of the manuscript to my *Northern Quakers and Slavery* when it is ready for publication.

NOTES

In connection with the centennial of the first Norwegian immigration to America a few years ago, reference was made in the BULLETIN (15:21-25; cf. 16:78; 18:33-37) to the part played by Friends. This part, as disclosed in all the recent researches, receives its proper background and interpretation in the new and complete retelling of the story, *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860,* by Theodore C. Blegen (The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1931). The author is a trained historian, who after general study of the subject, spent a year in Norway studying records of the movement at its source, including "the rich treasures of manuscript materials in the possession of the Society of Friends" in Stavanger. The new volume seems likely to remain for some time the definitive record of a movement with which the little Norwegian Quaker group of such romantic early history had so close a connection. It was the persecution of the Quakers that was a main cause of the movement to emigrate. The migration conversely influenced greatly the group that started it, for it took away a full third of the members of the Society from Norway in the first half century of the existence of the meeting.

In *Jesse Macy: an Autobiography* there is a most interesting and clear account of the experience of a young man who, born a Friend in North Carolina of the old Nantucket Quaker stock, lived as a child among the Quaker pioneers of Indiana and Iowa and served as a Quaker noncombatant in the Civil War, participating in Sherman's famous march through Georgia. Jesse Macy (1842-1919) is known to

the educational world as an outstanding teacher and writer on government and as long-time professor of political science at Grinnell College; but this book presents him in a new and most interesting light. The earlier chapters, telling of pioneer life in Henry County, Indiana, and Poweshick County, Iowa, of Quakerism as it was seen then at first hand, and of its adjustment in the mind of an intelligent lad to the discoveries of science, of the outward vicissitudes and inner difficulties of the same intelligent and conscientious mind drafted in the Tenth Iowa regiment, are hardly to be matched in the vivid autobiographies of midwestern Quakerism. The volume is edited by his daughter, Katharine Macy Noyes, and was published by Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, in 1933.

A Request for Coöperation

The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture is compiling a history of its activities since its founding in 1785. The Secretary will be glad to hear from any person having records of interest to the Society.

George F. Curwen, *Secretary,* Villa Nova, Pa.

BOOK REVIEWS

Willem Sewel of Amsterdam, 1653-1720. The first Quaker Historian of Quakerism. By William I. Hull. Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, Number one, 1933. 225 pp.[1]

Most of what has been achieved in the field of the history of Quakerism has been written by Quakers, very much to the advantage of scholarly completeness in the subject and of interpretative accuracy and sympathy. Considering all the various advantages of this, it still has to be stated that the Quaker historian usually has been free in his criticisms and thus really has contributed to an open and frank discussion. The traditional Quaker biographer, however, seems to have been too traditional in some cases, and to have been reaching for the most part Quaker readers only. Penn's life, as it was written and rewritten during the past six or seven decades, has been mainly based on Janney's work, until only quite recently Miss Brailsford brought a new accent into this theme. Only a few outsiders of literary rank (like Macaulay, Buell, and, in 1932, Bonamy Dobrée) have told the story of his life, and Dobrée's Lytton-Strachey-styled volume still is waiting to be investigated more carefully from the point of historical dependability.

Dr. Hull's book proves not only how necessary it is, but also how fascinating it can be, to look into the history of a historian. The English-speaking world has adopted Sewel as one of them; his name, pronounced in the anglicised way, is familiar to everyone interested in

[1]The frontispiece of this issue of the Bulletin is a reproduction, with William I. Hull's permission, of the frontispiece of the book here reviewed.

Quaker history. His reports are first-hand material; more than that, whenever we read his book we are impressed by his care, his considerate attitude, the minuteness of his searching mind and the balance of his diction. Is this man a professional writer? Did he live in a monastery-like place where he received the visits of leading early Friends from all over the world? Is he a sort of Evangelist listening to heavenly voices inspiring his writings? Nothing of the kind! In this book we learn what a busy life he lived. Sewel was the author of a Dutch-English dictionary, the translator of a number of English and Latin books, the author of books in his own language; he acted as interpreter, he was a hard-pressed journalist contributing to the Amsterdam "Courant," he was the father of a family. He carried on an extensive correspondance, he tutored students in English and Latin, he was an active Friend in a turbulent religious situation—and besides all that he was *the* Quaker historian! And yet, he was a full-time Quaker and a full-time historian. It took him twenty-five years to prepare a book which after 250 years reads as impressively as in 1717 when the Dutch original was first published. *Habent sua fata libelli.* From his experiences with Croese whom he faithfully assisted (not knowing, of course, what he did) in preparing a biased and inaccurate first history of the Friends which is even nowadays quoted by continental encyclopedists, down to the ill-fated and seriously delayed German edition of his own History in 1742, it was made clear to him and his assistants that a great prize must be earned by hard labor. But when he proudly wrote on the title page that his "Histori" was "met Authentikke Stukken voorzien," it meant, in fact, that the history was authentic.

Willem Sewel is a piece of scholarly research work the painstaking accuracy of which we probably do not find equaled in our historical literature. The period covered here is a comparatively short but most important one. Sewel lived through a good span of history before he wrote it down. Dr. Hull's study has been written with a passionate love for facts. When I read it, I could not help thinking of Alfons Paquet's word about the Friends in general: "Es ist etwas Altväterliches und Unerschütterliches um sie." *Willem Sewel* is written in this spirit, with a firm adherence to the logic and dynamic of a rich and abundant life lived in an excited time. Dr. Hull presents his material to a large extent in documents, following thus Sewel's own example; though, of course, here the evidences are mainly of a literary character. The material is such a rich one that it creates automatically the milieu which the historian sometimes has to create in purely interpretative and cumulative descriptions. References and sources are given with a perfect completeness. The latest results (such as Dr. Henry J. Cadbury's discoveries in 1933) are taken into consideration; a number of good reproductions are distributed over the book, and the hiker who is fond of unexplored side-tracks with little or no traffic will find numerous hints all over the book. The linguistic side of the work has been mastered with great

skill and elegance (incidentally: could Lehon, p. 133, perhaps be interpreted as *Leeuwen,* French *Louvain,* German *Loewen*?) The get-up of the book, print, binding, index, etc., are most substantial.

This is the first of a series of ten volumes, mainly dealing with the history of Dutch (or, as the Dutch government decreed in October, 1934, "Netherlandish") Quakerism. This country has contributed tremendously to the history of Anabaptism and the doctrines of the Inner Light. The much-neglected story of that part of our history could not have been introduced by a better masterpiece than this biography of the first historian of Quakerism, in which the word of Emerson has become verified that there is "properly no history, but only biography."

WILHELM HUBBEN
George School, Pa.

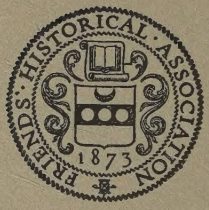
The Valley of the Delaware. By John Palmer Garber. 418 pages. 58 illustrations. $3.50. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company.

The value of Dr. Garber's attractive and illuminating volume lies in its fresh emphasis upon the significance of the regional history of the Delaware Valley in the formative period of American history. Sustaining today a population that equals the population of nearly a dozen far-western states, the historic region through which flows the Delaware River and its tributaries deserves wider national recognition and appreciation, not only for its past contributions to the growth and development of American democracy, but also for its present-day importance in the life of the nation. Here is where foundational American ideals and institutions were revealed in their genesis and eminently exemplified in the lives and achievements both of people and illustrious leaders.

Dr. Garber's summary account of the arrival on the banks of the Delaware of the various European people who set steaming the American melting pot is comprehensive and richly informing. The author's intimate knowledge of the local history adds considerable zest and value to his text. Separate chapters treat of the Quaker and other English adventurers, the German settlers, the Scotch and Irish immigrants, and the French colonists and refugees. In additional chapters, crowded with interesting details, Dr. Garber records the notable achievements of this racial medley in the varied social fields of industry and transportation; government; education; science, literature, and art; and religion. In summing up the diversified life of the Delaware Valley, Dr. Garber does not fail to emphasize that "nowhere else were the unifying influences as freely operative as they were under the spirit of toleration instituted by William Penn."

This book is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of genuine American democracy as a historic achievement—an achievement that is not to be lightly forgotten by its inheritors nor ignored by its misappropriators.

T. B. BRANDT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1873